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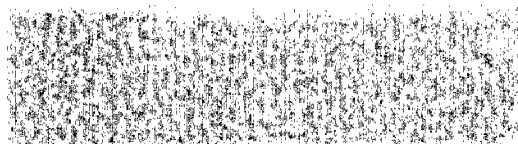
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**First Secretary Patiashvili Speaks to 11th
Georgian CP CC Plenum**

*18300092a Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
7 Sep 88 pp 1-4*

[Unattributed report: "On the Tasks of the Party Organization in Georgia for Practical Realization of the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum. The Report of Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary D.I. Patiashvili at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum on 3 September 1988"]

[Text] Comrades. Plenums of the party committees always constitute an important event in the life of each party organization. This present plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee is a special event for us because it has been convened at an important political boundary in perestroika.

Time is removing us further from those memorable days in Moscow when the 19th All-Union Party Conference took place. But interest in it is not waning and again and again we return to that forum of communists and with each passing day its significance becomes greater.

Much has been said about the unusual atmosphere of the conference and about the candid and sharp discussion that took place there and that was carefully followed by the entire world, and about the spirit of innovation in the decisions that were adopted. The conference clearly illuminated the new moral and political situation in the country and also the complex problems that are arising during the course of perestroika. The main thing is that it justified the hopes of Soviet people and strengthened their faith in the success of the strategy of the revolutionary transformation of society.

When meeting with the workers, the conference delegates, many of whom are sitting here in this hall, were yet again convinced that it had stirred up the entire country and all the people and instilled in people a faith in the irreversibility of the changes that are taking place.

The conference signified the start of a sharp turn on the political front of perestroika. The essence of this turn is broad and real involvement of the masses in affairs of state and management of these affairs. The conference emphasized the need to deepen the economic reform since it is associated with cardinal socioeconomic tasks and improving the lives of the people. Reform of the political system is eliminating unnecessary duplication in the activity of the party and the soviets and making it possible to accelerate the process of democratization in society. It is understandable that it is no simple matter to prepare for and accomplish this turn.

But, as was emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, time is forcing us to make haste and demanding energetic actions and placing a growing responsibility of party organizations and our cadres and all collectives and each worker.

It is significant that as always before a new and decisive advance, as it enters the new stage in its development, the party is everywhere conducting a combat, revolutionary review of its forces.

This combat review started with the accountability-and-election campaign in the party: each of its subdivisions and each of its elements is undergoing a crucial test—results are being summed up for what has been done and an analysis is being made of what has been achieved, carefully selecting the grains of positive experience and decisively discarding everything that is outworn and old and hampers perestroika and has already become an antithesis of it.

At the same time plans are being drawn up for the future, tactical and strategic tasks are being formulated, specific measures are being devised, cadres are being renewed, and fresh young forces are being promoted.

A noticeable process of activating the life positions the communist and enhancing his vanguard role is under way.

I

In M.S. Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee plenum the hope was expressed that the present accountability reports and elections will be different from all preceding ones. The republic party organization has also set itself this task. All preparatory work was aimed at this, including instruction meetings, work on recommendations, the accountability reports of party committees and other measures envisaged by the special programs drawn up by the party central committee and at the local level.

Today, when only the first steps have been taken, it is still too early to sum up the results. But even these steps have shown convincingly that, as determined by the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, the present accountability-and-election campaign is an important stage in the practical realization of the instructions issued by the conference to deepen perestroika and effect a reform of the political system and further democratization in the life of society and the party.

As a rule, at the accountability-and-election meetings there is open and candid party talk about how each communist is fulfilling his party assignment and whether or not he is underpinning his words about support for perestroika and the renewal of our society with the necessary actions.

The accountability reports and elections in the Tbilisi, Rustavi, Gori and Tskhaltubo city party organizations and the Khashurskiy, Kaspskiy, Onskiy and other rayon party organizations are taking place in an atmosphere of mutual exactingness and sense of responsibility for the affair, in an atmosphere of democracy and glasnost.

Communists are looking deeply into what needs to be done in a practical way to solve urgent questions in building up the economy and in economic and social development, and to satisfy people's material needs and spiritual requirements more fully.

At the same time, in each party group, in line with specific conditions and tasks, particular issues in the life of any particular labor collective are being brought to the forefront. For example, whereas at a meeting of the brigade party group in the No 5 cutting shop at the Tbilisi "Isani" Footwear Production Association, along with other matters, special emphasis was laid on enhancing the role of communists in the struggle to improve output quality, the party group in the turnery workshop at the Poti Ship Repair Plant focused its attention on unresolved problems of a social nature.

In the party group at a sector at the Aragvispirskiy vegetable sovkhoz in Dushetskiy rayon the main subject of sharp debate was bureaucratic barriers against the introduction of leasing contracts. A meeting of the party group of brigade No 1 at the Gumatskiy kolkhoz in the Tskhaltubo mountainous zone conducted a special investigation of each communist concerning his personal contribution to the fulfillment of the food program, while those attending a meeting of the power and mechanical shop at the Marneulskiy "Gruznerud" Production Association conducted an especially thorough and businesslike examination of urgent tasks in people's ideological-political indoctrination and strengthening reliable internationalist traditions.

In short, it can be said that the meetings of the party groups have become a tribune for the discussion of a broad range of the most important, acute and urgent problems.

Communists are well aware that how things go in each party organization and each collective and what results perestroika will bring depend directly on each of them. Communists are approaching with special exactingness the evaluation of the work of those whom they have elected as party leaders.

First results from the accountability-and-election campaign indicate that the work of 44 party group organizers and 13 secretaries in shop organizations has been deemed unsatisfactory. Communists are unwilling to reconcile themselves to political passiveness in their leaders or in a reluctance to show concern for the needs of the collective, or shortcomings in organizational work.

A special responsibility is being laid on communists in connection with the election of leaders. In contrast to practice in past years, when candidates were imposed from above, now the party members themselves decide whom to trust with leadership of the party organization. Whether or not these present leaders will be political fighters capable of advancing the cause of revolutionary renewal and insuring a new quality in party work depends on their responsible and principled approach to the matter.

Communists are realizing in a practical way the instructions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on democratization of the election process in the party. Thus, in general, an overwhelming majority of the party organizations in the republic conducted a preliminary discussion of several candidates as party group organizers, and one meeting in three preferred a secret ballot while one in two nominated candidates to higher organs.

All of this enables us to say that the revolutionary, transforming impulse of the conference is being transmitted increasingly to all elements of the party and is making itself felt at all levels of the party structure and promoting a deepening of perestroika processes and their enrichment and further development.

However, the central committee is concerned that the political instructions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference are still not everywhere being translated into the language of practical tasks. Some party committees have not rid themselves of the old approaches and stereotypes and from a desire for over-organization that borders on formalism. In some places the new forms for conducting meetings are penetrating with difficulty, and the preference remains as before for declarative and superficial discussion of questions.

Meetings in the Zugdidi and Tskhinvali city and the Gulripshskiy, Borzhomskiy, Mayakovskiy, Marneulskiy and Ordzhonikidzevskiy rayon party organizations have taken place without giving the present accountability-and-election campaign any special or principled meaning. The corresponding party committees have failed to create conditions for a high businesslike sense and sense of principle, and for a sense of democracy and glasnost, and they have gone along the road of outworn regulation and have been placing their hopes in the growing activeness of the communists and let this important campaign drift.

The recommendations of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee on organizing the accountability-and-election campaign emphasized the need to insure a high level of criticism and self-criticism at the meetings, and principled assessment of the work done.

The Tsitel-Tskaro party raykom received these recommendations along with the other party committees. However, the course of the accountability-and-election campaign in the rayon shows that the raykom has paid

little heed to this advice. Take, for example, the party organization at the poultry battery. For a number of years its collective—the one lagging most interest rayon—has been systematically failing to meet targets and has not created proper social and everyday conditions, and in turn the party organization is providing no help at all in solving the acute problems.

It was to be expected that this time the communists, supported by the party raykom, would talk loudly about what is hampering its work and what must be done to extricate it from the position in which it finds itself. However, nothing of the kind happened. In all three party groups at the poultry battery the accountability-and-election campaign was indistinguishable from meetings of the period of stagnation, with the same general, showy phrases and people giving accounts of themselves, and with resolutions that place no binding obligations on anyone being passed unanimously. How can this be explained by the party raykom, which did not even send its own representative to this organization, not to mention that it was precisely here that most careful, in-depth and well-considered work was needed with communists and with the party groups?

The accountability-and-election meeting took place in similar fashion in party group of brigade No 3 at the kolkhoz in the village of Sarpi in Khelvachaurskiy rayon. The serious omissions and shortcomings in the work of the party organization did not receive any businesslike, principled assessment. The communists even passed over in silence urgent questions in the rayon, such as theft, account padding and other violations found in the system of agricultural procurement, the services sphere and other sectors. These "silent" meetings are evidently to the liking of the party raykom because it also failed to take any steps for communists to speak openly about the low rates of perestroyka in the economy and the social sphere, and the omissions in cadre policy and relapses into all kinds of negative phenomena.

At a meeting of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee devoted to the upcoming accountability-and-election campaign it was recommended that the party committees organize preliminary familiarization by the members of the collective with the course of realization of the criticisms and proposals expressed at previous meetings. This demand is of fundamental importance for raising the activeness of communists. But how was this complied with in practice?

Take, for example, the meeting of the party group in brigade No 3 at the kolkhoz in the village of Skhvitori in Sachkheriskiy rayon. The hastily compiled report of the party group organizer failed to provoke any lively, interested discussion and the communists were mainly silent. After the meeting, however, it turned out that people had simply no faith that their proposals and comments would be heard by anyone or taken into consideration. In an unconstrained atmosphere they talked about sore

issues posed even several years ago—the poor quality of bread, lack of roads and lighting, the frequent interruptions in trade in staples, and much else.

These comments upset the first secretary of the party raykom, comrade E. Beridze, who sharply checked some communists. And this approach to the matter is typical of the style of work in the party raykom in general.

Two years ago a major theft occurred in the rayon industrial combine. At that time communists in the party group assessed the work of the party group organizer as unsatisfactory. The party raykom was to pay special attention to this party organization, provide practical help in eliminating the shortcomings, and take fulfillment of the decisions adopted under strict control; but this was not done. As a result, this year an even larger theft occurred at the combine and again the work of the party group was deemed unsatisfactory.

Lack of control and superficiality in the style of work by the party raykom lead to a situation in which they sometimes do not know the real state of affairs and simplify events, and as a result the blunders follow one after another.

A sulfuric acid leak at the cotton-spinning factory in the rayon caused massive poisoning of fish in the Kvirila River, but the raykom did not think that the fact was worthy of attention. And even today some people here are suggesting that the danger from this accident was exaggerated. This carelessness quickly led to a fire that required the intervention of republic organs and organs in a number of other rayons.

This is not the first time that the Sachkheriskiy party raykom has been criticized. Two years ago the central committee buro drew the attention of the raykom to the fact that perestroyka was moving slowly in the rayon and that there was no self-critical approach to shortcomings and that instances of suppression of criticism were being seen. The first secretary failed to draw the proper conclusions from this serious rebuke. Times passes but the state of affairs is not being corrected.

Shortcomings during the initial stage of the accountability-and-election campaign were to some extent the result of the fact that by no means all working groups that included members and candidate members of the central committee and officials from the apparatus and ministry and department leaders and underpinned by party committees set to work to carry out this important assignment. It is desirable that comrades take a more responsible attitude toward this matter.

We expect more initiative and invention and a creative approach from the mass media, including our television, in publicizing the course of the accountability-and-election campaign. The superficial and stereotype information from party meetings in the newspapers in Borzhomskiy, Kazbegskiy, Abashskiy, Chokhataurskiy and a

number of other rayons does not reflect what is central in the work of the accountability-and-election meetings and fails to reveal existing shortcomings and does not promote generalization of positive experience.

It is now extremely important to learn the essential lessons from the first stage of the accountability reports and elections since the second stage has already started, namely, in the primary party organizations, whose leadership is being approached by an overwhelming majority or comrades who need specific, businesslike help, practical recommendations, and good advice on how they should organize their work in the new way. Taking this into account, it seems useful when the accountability-and-election campaign has ended to convene a republic conference-seminar of secretaries of primary party organizations on the most urgent questions of their work.

Now, more than at any other time, what is needed is in-depth analysis of organizational and political work and a self-critical and principled approach to assessment of the style and methods in the activity of the party organizations and their elected organs.

The elections for leading party organs should also take place in a new way, and with true democracy and true glasnost. The time is now long past when instructions were issued "from above," control figures were passed down, and a schedule was passed round that contained everything—sex, age, kind of employment, social position, education, and the composition of elected party organs and conference delegates. There must be no return to the period when only those candidates proposed by a higher party organ or named by the secretary of the party organization were discussed and then voted upon.

Yet another step along the road of expanding intraparty democracy and glasnost is giving the primary party organizations the right, along with the election of delegates for the conference, to recommend candidates for the higher party organ.

The core of all party work has always been and still is work with cadres, with people. And now the All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee plenum have demanded that special attention be paid to improving the selection, promotion and indoctrination of cadres since it is cadres and cadres alone that decide success in any matter, success in perestroika. This approach acquires special significance during the election of leading party organs and top people.

Our party organization has gained certain experience in this matter. I refer to the fact that since the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, we have elected 29 party committee secretaries, 46 chairmen of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies and about 70

leaders of major economic organizations with the nomination and discussion of two or more candidates. And this is more than 80 percent of the total number of leaders changed in that category during that period.

The provision on limiting time in office in party organs to two terms, adopted by the 19th All-Union Party Conference and introduced with this present accountability-and-election campaign should serve as a unique reminder that leading posts are not filled for life.

At the same time it has become clear that communists rightly consider and decide the question of each leader personally, regardless of how long he has worked in a particularly post but taking into account how he has coped with the obligations assigned to him and whether or not he is capable of qualitatively improving matters. This is the criterion by which it is essential to be guided when forming elected organs.

The question of the mutual relations between party committees and the corresponding party apparatuses is acquiring special significance. The principle of the strict subordination and accountability of the apparatus to elected party organs must be undeviatingly observed. Moreover, within the framework of reform of the political system it is essential to take practical steps to improve the structure and activity of the party apparatus. It must first and foremost actively help the elected organs to carry out in full measures their function as the political vanguard and consequently must free them from administrative-economic functions and shift the center of gravity to political leadership.

Today the ability consistently to implement the party line toward the revolutionary renewal of society and to act creatively, employing methods of ideological-indoctrination and organizational work without exercising tutelage over or fettering the lower wings is demanded from the party committee apparatuses. The work of the party apparatus should be distinguished increasingly by its businesslike approach, glasnost, critical attitude and daily link with the masses.

This all requires a significant cutback in numerical strength with simultaneous improvement in the competence of cadre staffs. This work must be done both in the central committee apparatus and in the local party organs.

We also face major and complicated work in connection with perestroika in the activity of the soviets. The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Supreme Soviet commissions and the entire body of deputies must, in line with instructions from all-union organs, in particular in connection with the upcoming elections to the soviets in 1989, become actively involved in preparations for and the conducting of this

very important campaign and reinforce the soviets with competent and experienced cadres. And here, all work must be imbued with the spirit of the all-union conference.

II

The main thing now is to rouse all party organizations, all communists and all workers to resolve the tasks of perestroika and radical economic reform, the acceleration of socioeconomic development, and improvements in the material well-being of the workers.

Delineation of the functions of party committees and state and economic organs not only does not diminish but, on the contrary, enhances even more the role of the party as the political vanguard of the people, and this means that the life position of each communist, and even more his vanguard role, must be even more active.

This is why it is so important that the accountability-and-election campaign keep as its focus of attention the economic-political task of asserting the principles of cost accounting and self-financing, the development of socialist self-management, accomplishment of the economic reform, and introduction of the new economic mechanism.

In order to pull the chain up tight on all these tasks it is, of course, essential to grasp the main link. And today this main link is internal production cost accounting and the brigade and individual contract and lease.

It is particularly important to emphasize this now since the necessary persistence is not being shown everywhere. Even in leading associations such as the Tbilisi Aviation Plant and "Mion" the transfer of shops and brigades to cost accounting is being delayed. But from January next year these collectives must be working under the new conditions!

If we are to believe the accountability reports the brigade form for the organization of labor in industry in the republic now covers 72 percent of workers, while the financial-economic situation there remains virtually unchanged, or in a best case, the changes are insignificant. A number of enterprises have, let us put it this way, become bankrupt.

The Rustavi "Tsentrolit" Plant operated normally for 13 years and had a stable financial position, but since 1984 it has started to go to pieces. It has debts of more than R8 million. It has completely used up its circulating capital and has a so-called illiquid balance and is systematically failing to meet delivery schedules. The only explanation for the situation that has been created is unskilled leadership, a low level of labor organization and production, and a complete lack of commercial work. Everything at the plant has changed—the director, the specialists, the secretaries of the party organizations—but the

state of affairs has become even worse. And so it is bankrupt. Thus, of course, does not bring honor to the party organization of Rustavi city itself.

The position is the same at the Poti Metadyne Plant. There, the leadership has been replaced and attempts have been made to institute organizational measures but without result. And this plant is bankrupt. Now these enterprises are going under the hammer, as they say. And buyers have been found.

The question of the actual bankruptcy of a number of construction-and-assembly organizations belonging to the Tbilisi city ispolkom, the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Consumer Services is a real one. The bank has stated that they are insolvent. A group of enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Light Industry and Ministry of Local Industry awaits the same fate.

Thus, it is a question of the fate of entire collectives. Unfortunately, neither the party nor the soviet nor the economic organs in the republic essentially have any clear-cut program of action.

The Council of Ministers must handle this decisively and draw up a specific program. If the ministries and the enterprise leadership are unable to solve the financial and economic questions then we must have a plan for reorganization of these enterprises, a plan for changing their output and for handing them over as leaseholds to labor collectives and cooperatives.

Enterprises with less than 100 people, and there are many of them—almost 36 percent of all industrial enterprises—must be bolder in switching to leaseholds with the collectives or with cooperatives. They are only holding back the work of our industry and are unable to keep pace with present-day scientific and technical progress and are unable to introduce new equipment and the latest technologies.

And this at a time when all processes involving increasing the economic potential in the republic should be driven by scientific and technical progress. But we are still not insuring that. It is not only at the small enterprises where this is true. Many large associations and farms are also systematically failing to meet plans for scientific and technical progress. In particular, "Gruzgol," "Elektroapparat" and "Elektrovozostroitel," enterprises and organizations of the Ministry of Construction and certain other organizations are systematically failing to reach plan targets.

The comprehensive programs envisaged and confirmed in the central committee Coordinating Council are being poorly fulfilled. Many examples could be cited showing how ministries and departments and associations and enterprises are failing to meet targets for scientific and technical progress. And this is happening because we have no effective system for managing this process. We

have the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Education, the Gosplan, and finally the sector ministries and departments responsible for a large number of scientific research institutes and design bureaus, but we have no system for managing scientific and technical progress.

Accordingly, whereas if we are asked what has not been introduced we can find at least some kind of answer, to the questions of what this has led to, what we have lost because of this, and who specifically is to blame for the fact that scientific and technical developments have not been introduced, today we can provide no answers here in the republic. Can scientific and technical progress really be managed in this way? As a result about 70 percent of scientific developments at the VUZes do not correspond to domestic achievements, not to mention foreign achievements. This is about how academic and sector science is evaluated.

How can these developments be at a world level when, for example, in our Academy of Sciences 44 percent of measuring equipment is obsolete and more than 25 percent of scientific institutions do not have computers, while the capital-labor ratio for scientific workers in 1.5 times lower than in academy science in other union republics. And given this, year after year the capital investments allocated are not being used.

There can be only one solution here: we must set to seriously to develop a system for managing science and scientific and technical progress. The president of the Academy of Sciences comrade A. Tavkhelidze, the minister of education comrade G. Yenukidze and the chairman of the republic Gosplan comrade O. Vardzelashvili, with the participation of ministry and department leaders and the leaders of existing scientific institutions must draw up specific proposals and submit them for consideration in the republic directive organs.

The numerous branches of all-union scientific research institute, design bureaus, associations and enterprises, and engineering centers set up in the republic must take their place in this system. While possessing a high scientific and technical potential they are doing almost no work on the needs of the national economy in the republic, in particular developing new kinds of consumer goods. We have no end of work to do here.

But again, to judge from the reports, plans for the production of consumer goods have of late been overfulfilled. During the first 7 months of the year improved-quality "N" category goods worth R30 million above plan were produced by light industry. However, the republic domestic market has essentially not felt this. Why is this?

One of the main reasons is inadequate coordination at both the republic and local levels. What is there to say when the Council of Ministers and the Gosplan and the Ministry of Trade can provide no accurate information as to what part of the output produced by the all-union

enterprises is earmarked for the local market? We have to import up to 400 kinds of the simplest kinds of articles whose production we could easily organize locally. Not to mention complicated and prestige articles.

Suffice it to say that in machine building, of the 304 main types of consumer goods planned for manufacture this year only 20 can be categorized as prestige items. For the same reason output from light and local industry remains insufficiently oriented on demand from the republic population. It is quite inexplicable why half of the articles produced by local industry and 70 percent of output from the Ministry of Light Industry is exported outside the republic.

And where are the promised new goods? There are very few or none at all. But engineering centers have been set up in the republic, various exhibitions have been organized and the leaders of ministries and associations have familiarized themselves the experience of many cities and republics and even foreign countries. In short, there has been much fuss but no results.

We must demand that comrades O. Melkadze, V. Alavidze, A. Movsesyan and K. Shavishvili and the chairmen of the ispolkoms in the local soviets achieve close coordination in the very near future in the production of consumer goods. Many problems must also be resolved in improving product quality.

Cooperative and individual labor activity is called upon to play a major role in replenishing the market with goods and services. There are almost 1,200 cooperatives in the republic employing up to 17,000 people. The number of people employed in individual labor activity has grown. In general, this matter seems to be in good shape.

However, in Kazbegskiy, Lentekhskiy, Ambrolaurskiy, Mestiyskiy, Bolnisskiy, Ordzhonikidzevskiy, Tsagerskiy, Aspindzskiy, Borzhomskiy, Kaspiskiy, Tetrtskaroytskiy, Tianetskiy and a number of other rayons an inexplicable passivity is being permitted in the development of the cooperative movement.

One serious case of neglect here is the orientation on the market outside the republic and a large proportion clearing accounts are current. Thus, they are doing little to satisfy demand from the local population.

But we need the cooperatives not to open up scope for the enrichment of individuals who are sometimes not very honest. The main purpose here is to provide more goods for the population and offer it various services.

In many cases, however, the opposite is happening. In Gardabanskiy rayon, for example, the cooperatives producing consumer goods marketed output worth R1.3 million during the first half of the year. But what did they provide for the rayon? A total of only R100,000 was deposited in the bank and R457,000 were withdrawn in

cash as credit for wages alone. Up to 80 percent of output was marketed outside the republic. The largest of the Gardabanskiy cooperatives—"Tsavkisi," "Krtsanisi," "Samgori"—are particularly distinguished in this regard. Many such examples could also be cited from other regions.

The cooperative movement is now entering a new phase. Various kinds of cooperative associations and societies are being actively set up in the country. This is helping in solving many of the problems of the cooperative movement. Republic and local organs must encourage this in every possible way and provide incentives for the formation of such societies.

Increasing the output of consumer goods, developing the cooperative movement, and providing opportunities for individual labor activity all serve the same end—satisfying growing consumer demand. On this plane, our number one task is the food problem.

It is common knowledge that in terms of the level of consumption of the main foodstuffs here we have an enormous gap not only in terms of the physiological norm but also average all-union indicators. Here, over the past 7 years the decline below the average all-union level has been growing for meat and meat products and milk and milk products, and eggs. And despite the steps taken, no significant shifts are taking place.

Appeals to switch to intensive farming remains just that—appeals: in many cases on irrigated land and on tracts farmed using intensive technologies harvests are the same and sometimes even lower than on non-irrigated land and on fields where intensive technologies are not being used.

Last year more the shortfall in grain sowing using intensive methods was more than 30,000 tons. Farms in Marneulskiy rayon harvested 26.3 quintals per hectare, while the corn yield was even less—16.2 quintals.

What explanation can the leaders in Signakhskiy rayon (RAPO chairman D. Aladashvili) have for the fact that only 8.8 quintals per hectare of grain were harvested from intensive sowings? Is this not simply agronomic and technological incompetence on the part of the leaders? The same must be said about leaders in agricultural production in Gurdzhaanskiy, Lagodekhskiy, Tsulukidzevskiy, Terzholskiy and other rayons who failed to switch to intensive grain production.

This year, when the average yield for cereals exceeds 28.5 quintals per hectare for the republic, at the Mchadichvarskiy sovkhov in Dushetskiy rayon the average is only 6.2 quintals of wheat per hectare, that is, about as much as was sown.

These facts must not be ignored by the State Agro-Industrial Committee or the party and soviet organs in the republic.

Livestock farming is a cause for special concern. Overall 99.97 percent of cattle are purebred. But what is the use of this if the average milk yield per cow is not even 1,900 kilograms annually, while the average delivery weight for cattle bought by the state from kolkhozes and sovkhovs and interfarm organizations does not exceed 270 kilograms? It turns out that the pedigree of cattle here is only on paper; all we get from livestock farming is losses.

Over the past 6 years gross milk yield has declined at farms in 17 rayons and in the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast. In this regard the Chiatara city zone and Makharadzevskiy, Aspindzskiy, Tianetskiy and Marneulskiy rayons are lagging in particular. The main reason for this is lack of a stable fodder base, the low level of discipline, violations of production technology, and neglect in control over fodder consumption and in the production and calculation of output. The practice continues whereby lagging farms shifts plans to those that are operating well. But this is a worthless practice and it has been condemned by the party, and leaders in the rayons and also the republic State Agro-Industrial Committee must think about this seriously.

It was stated very clearly at the all-union party conference that the shortest and most reliable path to a sufficiency of food is the extensive introduction everywhere of effective forms for labor organization and incentive, particularly leasing.

In recent times contract forms for the organization of labor have been significantly expanded in our agricultural production. Last year alone the number of contract collectives increased by 2,000. We now have about 12,000. In crop growing 82 percent of collectives are involved in this form, while in livestock farming the figure is 86 percent. However, we must go further and, where more advantageous, switch from contracts to leasing.

The switch to the leasehold contract is an important condition for real democratization of management in agricultural production and the shortest path to any sharp rise in the efficiency of agricultural production. It is therefore essential to activate in every possible way the introduction of all forms of the leasehold contract so that by the end of the year this work will in the main have been completed.

And the work to be done is great and difficult. Up to now results from the introduction of leasing forms in the organization of labor have been extremely unsatisfactory. As at 1 June, only 26.5 percent of kolkhozes and sovkhovs in the republic had switched to leasing contracts. A total of only 4.7 percent of pastureland, 9.8 percent of cattle and 4.4 percent of hogs had been leased.

It is particularly intolerable that this process has also not been rid of elements of formalism. And this has been categorically banned. It is essential to try to instill in everyone a firm conviction that perfecting the economic mechanism will bring tangible advantage to him and to society.

Here, we must act carefully but boldly. There must be a well-considered differentiated approach to each rayon, each farm, and personally to each worker. Time is passing but the State Agro-Industrial Committee is unable to offer sound proposals in this matter. We must know now, today, which farms will switch within what schedules to a suitable form of leasing, and which part will possibly go to the major industrial enterprises and organizations in the republic. There is no other way for us. The problem must be solved immediately.

In a recent PRAVDA article on the food question viewed through the prism of social justice, it was again asserted that the existing mechanism for the distribution of state food resources does not help in making maximum use at the local level of the available reserves for self-sufficiency, and that parasitism is a great evil and one of the main reasons for and manifestations of the unfair distribution of products.

We must agree that parasitism corrupts people and hampers their work with the land and on the land. And our parasites, like all the other parasites, should be well aware that some else is doing their work for them. But is it not time for them to work for themselves? The task now is for them to feed their own collective, their own rayon, their own city, their own oblast, and, finally, their own republic.

Some peoples in the cooperatives who instead of organizing their own production buy products in stores at state prices and then sell them at arbitrary prices, have set out on the path of parasitism. But we have already talked about the cooperatives.

Why must we talk so much today about contracts, leasing and cooperatives? It would seem that there is no need to prove the advantages of these forms for the organization of social production. But, see, a recent public opinion poll conducted in Tsitel-Tskaroyskiy rayon revealed that a significant proportion of leaders, specialists and rank-and-file workers has still not exhaustively analyzed the effectiveness of the lease form for the organization of labor. Unfortunately, this is also observed in other rayons.

It is no secret that some people do not like the fact that workers and entire collectives become the true masters on the land. Many leaders are raising obstacles against the introduction of leasing, fearing to let go of the reins of management.

Herein lies one of the main reasons for the slow spread of new forms, not only in agriculture but also in industry, trade, the services sphere and transport. A broad field for activity by the party workers is opening up here. The first thing that needs to be done is to assume a firm and clear-cut position regarding who is hampering the matter and who is opposing introduction of what is new and advanced.

It is not the business of party workers to be involved in the technology for the development of these forms. But they are obliged to monitor and direct this process, conduct purposeful political-indoctrination and explanatory work, and decisively pursue the political line for a principled resolution of the problem. Here, they must react flexibly to any extremes and distortions or manifestations of formalism in this matter.

Great responsibility is laid on the first secretaries of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and the leadership of the republic State Agro-Industrial Committee, on which much depends, so that we can have done once and for all with formalism, stereotype, and pretense in solving the questions of switching to new forms of labor organization and incentive, as a result of which very important party and state decisions are being discredited.

The next problem is that of providing the public with housing. There is no end to the stream of letters and statements about the grossest violations in the distribution and redistribution of housing, which also indicates a lack of the proper sense of responsibility on the part of party organs and communists and leaders.

Scandalous instances of violation of housing legislation have been revealed in Batumi, which were objectively set forth in the newspaper TRUD and confirmed by a Georgian Communist Party Central Committee commission. The check showed that by taking advantage of official positions, some leading workers in the city are jumping the queue and obtaining apartments in municipal and departmental apartment blocks and carrying out repair work on such a scale in the apartments that they obtain that people are amazed. And this at a time when housing conditions there have been awaiting improvement since 1962.

The same violations in housing allocations are being permitted in Sukhumi, Tskhinvali and Tskhaltubo.

An extremely tense situation with the allocation of housing has been created in Tbilisi, where more than 60,000 families are on the waiting list, and of which 13,000 are living in emergency and dilapidated housing. In 12 years the gap in the waiting list has been closed only by 4 years. As a result, over the past 5 years the numbers of those requiring housing has not declined but grown since more people are going onto the waiting lists than are obtaining apartments.

A sharply critical report was carried in the newspaper PRAVDA on the violations of housing legislation being permitted in Tbilisi and throughout the republic and the results of a large-scale inspection conducted at the local level were discussed in the central committee bureau. Those guilty were punished.

Instances of gross violations of the passport procedure, citizen registration, illegal exchanges of apartments, fictitious marriages, and deliberate aggravation of living conditions calculated to result in obtaining better apartments have been established.

And the tricks to which people resort to obtain housing illegally! One case is known in which 33 people turned out to be registered in a single one-room apartment with a total area of only 17 square meters at apartment block No 29 on Pavlov Street in Tbilisi. Violations have also been found in other regions—Leninskiy, Kirovskiy, Kalininskiy and imeni 26 Komissarov rayons.

The ispolkom of the Tbilisi city soviet is taking steps to bring things into proper order. However, violations of the housing legislation continue.

Things have become very strange. In order to be registered in Tbilisi, inhabitants of Makharadze city, the couple Vladimir Khmelidze and Tsiuri Tushishvili, who had two children, got divorced and in 1980 the wife entered into a sham marriage with an inhabitant of Tbilisi, O. Tsilosani, and was registered in his one-room apartment at No 31 Melikishvili Street. In 1982 she gave birth to a third child of Khmelidze and only in 1984 did she dissolve the marriage with Tsilosani and was again registered with her real husband, registering him in the apartment on Melikishvili Street where, naturally, Tsilosani had not been living since 1980. This case has been passed to the procurator's office in Kalininskiy rayon.

And here is another example of an extraordinary case. The marriage registry office in Kirovskiy rayon recorded the marriage of an 18-year-old girl to a 78-year-old man. Out of ethical considerations we shall not name the names of the "newlyweds" but this act becomes even more immoral if we take into account the fact that the marriage was entered into by a grandfather and his own granddaughter.

We leave this action to the conscience of the granddaughter, who is now much older, while the grandfather has now died. The fictitious marriage has now been dissolved, but the officials who cooperated in the conclusion of this and other dubious deals must be dealt with in the strictest manner.

In order to fulfill the program for providing each family with a separate apartment by the year 2000 we must sharply increase the volumes of housing construction. Whereas at the present time an annual average of 1.7 million square meters of housing are being commissioned, during the next two five-year plans this indicator must rise to 2.3 million to 2.4 million, that is, by 25 percent.

Unfortunately, however, no noticeable change is being observed in this sphere, either quantitatively or even less qualitatively. The annual plans for 1986 and 1987 were not fulfilled. The situation remains tense this year also.

Work is lagging in the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, in Tbilisi and Zugdidi, and Akhalkalakskiy, Garadbanskiy, Lanchkhutskiy, Makharadzevskiy, Sagaredzhoyskiy, Khashurskiy, Tsalendzhikhskiy and Tsalkskiy rayons.

The main reason is first and foremost the unsatisfactory work of the republic Ministry of Construction, and in particular Gruzagrostroy. Some leaders in party and soviet organs in a number of rayons are underestimating the acuteness of this very important social problem.

How many times we have had to talk about the poor quality of construction materials. But no shifts are taking place here either. The timber-processing combines of the Ministry of Construction and Gruzagrostroy, and also enterprises of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, are working today as poorly as they have ever worked. The serious shortcomings in the work of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry has been given a strict, principled and justified assessment by the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

Nothing is changing in the work of the Kaspi Cement-and-Slate Combine, which since the start of the year has had a production shortfall of up to 200,000 tons; which means that there is a shortfall of about R170 million. For comparison, this sum is more than half of the annual plan for housing construction in the republic.

The reason for this lagging is to be found in the dilapidated condition of the plant, poor leadership by the director, comrade A. Shakulashvili, and unsatisfactory work by the engineering and technological services and the combine party organization. But one in three people at the combines is a communist. Where is their vanguard role, the role of political nucleus of the collective? The party committee and its secretary, comrade U. Kasoshvili, are doing a poor job in leading this detachment of communists, yes and the party raykom and the raykom first secretary comrade D. Dzhevakhishvili are not showing the proper exactingness.

Cooperative, and particularly individual housing construction, is being developed slowly. The ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies are not directing this work, often procrastinate, and raise all kinds of obstacles. This problem is the more acute with respect to reconstruction of individual homes. What is happening? We make decisions on these questions and remove the barriers that previously existed but the people who are supposed to implement the decisions do nothing, and what is more even hamper things, while the party committees at the local level do not make the proper assessments.

We must seriously criticize the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and republic Council of Ministers construction departments. They must show more

exactingness toward leading cadres and increase their responsibility for the serious shortcomings in party-political support for perestroyka in the construction complex.

No matter what the economic questions that we have considered they all again turn on the low level of economic training for our cadres. The work that is being done in this direction is obviously inadequate.

Even though the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee working group on universal economic training daily listens to reports from leaders in the ministries and departments and enterprises and organizations about the work done to restructure economic education for the workers, the facts indicate that in some cases at the local level comrades' attitudes toward this important matter lack any sense of responsibility. The Georgian trade union council, the Ministry of Education, the republic USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the center for skill improvements for party, soviet and economic leaders under the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee must grapple with this work in a businesslike way and organize it properly.

The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers Coordinating Council for production-economic training for workers must galvanize its activity. The economic and sector departments of the central committee must strengthen control over the organization of economic training.

The central committee recently created a methodological office for economic education. It can and must provide major assistance.

In a few days a zonal seminar of the propaganda aktiv will take place in Tbilisi to deal with questions of deepening perestroyka and political and economic training for workers in light of the tasks set by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. We must all be most actively involved in this.

Possessing economic knowledge means first and foremost to direct skillfully the development of the economy and each of its sectors and each labor collective, and make maximum use of the possibilities of the national economy in order to raise the living standard of the people, learn diligent management and master the commercial art.

These demands apply first and foremost to workers in the trade sphere, whose condition leaves something to be desired, to put it mildly. In almost half of the stores inspected both foodstuffs and essential non-food products were lacking even though sufficient are available. This is the situation that we are finding in the trade network in Borzhomi, Zugdidi and Marneuli and in Geghechkorskiy and other rayons.

The working hours of trade and personal services facilities are causing many complaints but nothing is changing. Some 80 percent of those polled are expressing dissatisfaction with the operating conditions of these establishments.

There is a shortage of trading areas, and the deductions made from housing construction to develop trade facilities are being used very unsatisfactorily, while in Sukhumi, Batumi and Tskhinvali not even half are being used. The ground floors of buildings are still not being handed over for trade and personal services facilities. Many examples could be cited showing that the premises of stores located on busy streets in Tbilisi are being offered to establishments that should be located in other places. The same is happening in other cities in the republic.

A poor job is being done in involving nonspecialized enterprises in offering user-fee services, including enterprises of union subordination. No proper concern is being shown by the ispolkoms of the local soviets. The experience of the Tbilisi Aviation Production Association indicates the great opportunities available here. A great deal that is of interest in this direction has been done at the Poti Ship Repair and Shipbuilding Plant, where the volume of user-fee services is more than R200 per worker. The experience of the kolkhoz in the village of Vazisubani in Gurdzhaanskiy rayon is worthy of attention. There, receipts from transport services alone have topped R18,000 while the volume of user-fee services has been more than R80 per kolkhoz farmer.

Serious shortcomings exist in public transport services, and we must draw the attention of the leadership of the Transcaucasian Railroad to this—railroad chief comrade V. Blazhieyevskiy and his first deputies comrades V. Batsikadze and I. Melkadze, who must take more decisive steps to bring proper order to the railroad.

Many unresolved problems have also built up in road transport, where it is essential to deal properly with strengthening the material-technical base. The Council of Ministers, Ministry of Motor Transport and the republic Gosplan must be more persistent and immediate in resolving the urgent, long-term and strategic questions of development in this vitally important sector of the economy.

The state of traffic safety is a cause for serious alarm. As previously, one vehicle in four is going out on its route in unroadworthy condition, while for urban electric-powered vehicles the figure is more than 40 percent. Since the beginning of the year there have been about 1,300 traffic accidents, more than 370 people have been killed, and 1,500 people maimed. The accident rate has risen sharply in Gori and Rustavi, and in Akhalkalakskiy, Marneulskiy, Onskiy, Tskhakayevskiy and other rayons. It is obvious that local leaders are not dealing with accident prevention.

Comrades. Today we have been paying special attention to the food problem and questions of housing construction and improving work in the services sphere, because it is precisely on this sector of activity that the fate of our entire economic and social policy is today being decided.

In equal measure it is essential to achieve a sharp turn in safeguarding public health and in the sphere of diet and the creation of the most favorable conditions for life and work. However, perestroika in public health is proceeding extremely slowly. This is what 56 percent of those polled in Tbilisi believe. Many people have to go outside the republic for medical care. What happened in the past is still happening today. The prestige of our "coryphaei" of medicine has largely declined. Training for medical personnel is largely unsatisfactory, and things are no better with professional skill improvement for physicians.

No palpable shifts can be seen in improving the quality of medical care and sanitation and preventive work. The indicator for patients attending out-patient facilities is lower than the average all-union indicator. Deaths from circulatory diseases and cancers remain high.

Suffice it to recall the situation that took shape in Tskhinvali in spring of this year when it became clear how poorly infectious diseases were being handled, and—the main thing—their causes. A check conducted by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Committee has shown that the central committee bureau decision on this question is being complied with in an unsatisfactory way. Things are just as bad with other diseases, increase the venereal diseases, for some of which the republic indicator is higher than the all-union level.

There are still medical personnel who are besmirching the honor and dignity of Soviet medicine, and there are instances of pressure to elicit bribes. Last year 15 cases of crimes for mercenary motives were detected, perpetrated by public health workers, and 7 criminal cases were instigated for theft, illegal possession and distribution of narcotic substances.

We again draw the attention of the minister of health comrade I. Menagarishvili to the fact that no noticeable changes are to be seen in this system. And it is high time that they were!

The situation in the ecological sphere is a cause for serious concern. Funding for nature conservation—and last year it amounted to R46 million—is sometimes being used to no purpose. The area of agricultural arable land is contracting because of intensive erosion. Some 850,000 hectares, including 381,000 hectares of pastureland, are being destroyed because of violations of the rules for land use and mineral workings. And funds being allocated for measures to prevent erosion are systematically not being used. Thus, over the past 7 years R2.5

million have been allocated through the republic agricultural organs and only R891,000 have been assimilated. Land restoration plans are not being fulfilled. The sanitation condition of rivers and the Black Sea littoral strip remains unsatisfactory and the dumping of sewage has not been halted. It has been necessary to close several parts of the beach in Batumi, Sukhumi and Poti. Each year up to 270 tons of petroleum products are being dumped in the sea by the Batumi oil refinery, and poultry batteries and livestock farming complexes are polluting the water.

An extremely complex ecological situation has been created in Tbilisi, and the most urgent steps must be taken there.

Emissions of harmful substances by industrial enterprises and motor vehicles are great in the republic—more than 1.5 million tons annually. The industrial enterprises of the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, the Ministry of Petroleum Production and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, and the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry are causing particular atmospheric pollution.

The recently formed State Committee for Environmental Protection and Forestry must insure a real improvement in this matter and strictly monitor fulfillment of the General Scheme for anti-erosion measures and the siting and construction of canalized and purification installations. It is essential to complete the compilation of a long-term program for environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources for the 13th Five-Year Plan and long term to the year 2005, and to insure full assimilation of capital investments and make efficient use of existing capacities.

We must assert in every way the authority of law and order and strengthen public order and intensify the struggle against crime.

In recent years organized and professional crime, which is acquiring an interregional and intersector character, has become a dangerous social phenomenon. There is serious alarm that organized groups of criminals are entering into corrupt ties with the representatives of economic and administrative organs and are becoming intertwined with certain soviet and even party workers and certain groups in the intelligentsia.

And this means that special vigilance is needed and special alertness on the part of each leader and each communist, who must be able to deliver a decisive rebuff to provocative and mercenary approaches.

Last year more than 500 thefts of state and public property were detected, along with speculation, larceny of personal property, robbery, muggings, and acts of serious violence employing firearms. This is also the active reaction of the corrupt groups to perestroika; this was mentioned at the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum.

Bribe-taking has penetrated into many spheres. Last year we cited many instances of bribery and pressure to elicit bribes, and names were named. Today I am able to report that the former deputy chairman of the Akhmet'skiy rayispolkom, I. Natsvlishvili, has been sentenced to 8 years imprisonment for bribe-taking, and the former chief physician at the Dusheti regional hospital V. Siradze and the former chief of surgery at that hospital, T. Rusadze have been sentenced to various terms.

The Telavi people's court has sentenced the former chairman of the Telavi gorispolkom housing-construction cooperative, I. Geldiashvili, for bribes received for aiding and abetting in registration.

To this it can be added that the former chief of the social security department of the Bogdanskiy rayispolkom, A. Bdoyan, who for some years took advantage of his official position to systematically elicit and receive bribes, has been sentenced to 9 years imprisonment. N. Kirtadze, a laboratory assistant for the veterinary-and-sanitation board of experts for the Rustavi kolkhoz market, has been sentenced for bribe-taking.

What kind of educational example was it for the children of the chief of the Kodzhori pioneer camp belonging to the trade union committee for workers in industry and municipal and everyday enterprises, R. Eradze, when he was found to be eliciting bribes? Bribes for permitting little children to go to a pioneer camp; what could be more degrading?

An associate at the Academy of Sciences, N. Yashagashvili, who according to material from the investigation subsequently received R5,500 for aiding and abetting in enrolling secondary school graduates in the State Pedagogical Institute, has been held criminally liable.

The status of the struggle against crime requires comprehensive and effective measures. Meanwhile many of our party, soviet and administrative organs are unable to control the situation and are permitting serious errors and are sometimes completely powerless.

What this powerlessness can lead to can be seen from the fact that the inhabitants of a number of cities and rayons, mainly women, are traveling in groups to Moscow to complain about bureaucratic red tape in the administrative organs and lack of objectivity in the courts and during investigations. Here, many people quit their jobs for no reason, violate labor discipline and absent themselves from work, but no one is calling them to order.

Yesterday's edition of PRAVDA reminds us that "no one has abolished discipline," and emphasizes that the democratization of our life cannot be set against order, including order at work, and that the value of this democracy is almost nothing if people fail to become more involved but even, on the contrary, work less assiduously. This also applies to our republic because, as is reported, last year Georgia, along with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, had the highest level of losses of working time—one-third higher than the average for the country; and it is being said that no noticeable shifts are being seen even now.

And at this time our truants are walking about Moscow. A large group of people from a number of cities and rayons in the republic was recently taken into custody in the very center of the capital for disturbing the peace. Leaders in the procurator's office, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the organs of the court should be more prompt and immediate and really come to grips with these matters.

The main thing now is to implement measures to give legal backing to perestroika and form a legal socialist state.

All the main problems connected with concern for the individual and his well-being have been, as it were, focused (literally, in the "Searchlight of Perestroika") on our recent television broadcast "People's Control Screen"—materials on a joint snap inspection by television journalists and people's controllers.

This snap inspection revealed shortcomings and "bottle-necks" in various aspects of our life. There were also serious errors in the work of the pioneer camps in Borzhomskoy rayon, where adult people are failing to show elementary concern for the children and are not at all worried that no normal diet is assured or that the proper sanitation conditions have not been created. It showed that the work of the trade network in Tbilisi, in particular in the Gldanskiy housing development, is also bad, and inhabitants have nowhere to purchase vegetables and fruit and other products; where standard trade in meat and oil is being violated and there are interruptions in bread supplies. It also showed the indignation of passengers on a train leaving the Tbilisi railroad station because it was 3 hours late, and with dirty cars; and because the linen set by the conductors was soiled.

Three days ago we again saw the disorder that is being created at the Tbilisi-Uzlovaya station. Some 40 minutes after the Tbilisi-Baku train should already have been leaving according to the schedule, no one even knew which track it would be one because contradictory information was being passed on the public address system. Neither the information office nor the assistant station-master could clarify the matter because they themselves did not know. And when finally it became clear that the passengers would have to be switched to track number

one, a freight train was put there instead of the Kazreti-Tbilisi electric train, and it was only more than an hour after the officially stated time that the correct train arrived.

What is this if not a mockery not only of the passengers but also railroad procedures?! They say that the railroad station is the visiting card of a city. You can imagine the kind of impression that tourists from France and Italy have of our city, and indeed all the passengers on that train. And this kind of thing is no a rarity.

The "People's Control Screen" also has something in common with another instructive television program that related the story of how some working families spent Sunday by walking outside the city. But during their leisure a business conversation was going on: many painful problems have built up. As one comrade said, we often "talk" about perestroika, reveling in free speech and criticism. Meanwhile, for the working man, obtaining authorization to travel to a sanatorium in the summer months is not so simple for himself and his family. As previously, he must solicit from officials in the bureaucracy the social security benefits provided by the state for families with many children, and so forth.

In our collective, nothing has changed since the time of stagnation; this is what Vasilii Gegeshidze, a foreman at a silk production association and a person well known in the republic, said. And his comrades supported him.

Say what you like, this is a quite serious reproach and all of us must draw the proper conclusions from it.

Everything for the individual, everything for the good of the individual; it is time to move from these words to deeds.

III

The new tasks and new boundaries also require new approaches in providing ideological support for perestroika and activating its main factor—the human factor. Providing ideological support for perestroika means raising up the communists to solve the most important national economic and sociopolitical tasks and increasing activity in the life position of each party member.

We must constantly bear this in mind because if we fall behind the times and the demands of life or stop being uncompromising with any shortcomings, and forward-looking, or find ourselves trailing behind events and phenomena, this means to assume a position of compromise.

Today as at no other time it is necessary to ideologize all our work, and a new quality of ideological activity is required—active and aggressive. And this means that the time has come for a decisive shift from enlightenment in

mass political work and from agitation-and-propaganda actions to bold and persistent formation of a long-term concept of ideological renewal.

In this forward movement an important role belongs to our intelligentsia. We have always been proud of it and its outstanding achievements in all spheres of activity, and its contribution to the republic's economic and social development and in the upsurge in science, culture, and literature and the arts; and we still are today. We are profoundly pleased that our academicians T.V. Gamkrelidze and A.N. Tavkhelidze have become Lenin Prize winners this year. Tengiz Abuladze's film "Repentance" [Pokayaniye] has gained wide recognition. The republic's intelligentsia has always occupied leading and truly party positions and positions of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Unfortunately, however, today it must be said that a certain section of the intelligentsia that remains at passive, unprincipled positions is creating fertile soil for demagogic and inflammatory intrigues by certain persons. Those who have misinformed the public include several associates from solid academic institutions, the VUZ's and the creative organizations. It turns out that those on whom we want most to rely in all our political and ideological-indoctrination work are letting us down. Comrades-in-arms and like-minded persons should not act so!

It must be suggested that the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, the directors of the appropriate scientific research institutes and leaders in the VUZ's and creative unions, and the secretaries of the party organizations in those institutions assume a correct and principled stance, show political maturity, and carry out the necessary political-indoctrination work in their own collectives.

A policy of nodding agreement and of flirtation has never led to anything good for anyone; which can be seen from examples such as the openly Black Hundreds Association [a reference to an anti-Semitic movement during the 1905 revolution—ed], which is operating openly in Leningrad calling itself the "Pamyat" Russian Patriotic Front and engaging in unbridled propaganda of national enmity; while in Moscow it organizes the primordial mobs of the so-called democratic league. It is essential strictly to maintain the established procedure for organizing and conducting gatherings and meetings and street marches and demonstrations.

The activation here of various kinds of independent formations that have engaged in the publication of samizdat journals that are patently provocative, patently anti-Soviet and patently antisocialist in nature and distort our history and the present, and besmirch the gains of the Great October and the names of some of our eminent revolutionary figures, is causing serious concern. We also find those who derive special satisfaction

from talking and writing in an insulting and disparaging tone about respected and worthy people who have done so much to develop our culture.

The leadership of these fringe groupings has been infiltrated by antisocial elements and political demagogues pursuing mercenary and sometimes hostile ends and compromising party policy.

Independent associations of another kind act as a counterweight to them. They are doing useful public work: they are advancing good initiatives in environmental protection and they favor the preservation of historical monuments and cultural values.

Socialist democracy is the all-around develop of citizens' rights but it has nothing in common with licentiousness and anarchic dissoluteness. To use Lenin's words, democratism should be subordinate to revolutionary appropriateness.

A major step in extending glasnost and democracy here was the recently adopted law on national debate of important questions of state life, which provides for universal and general participation of the broad masses in resolving the most urgent problems of republic life and the most important tasks in social development, including major national economic actions such as drawing up and confirming schemes for the development and siting of production forces in the Georgian SSR through the year 2005.

This will make it possible to predict the economic, social and ideological consequences of decisions reached. But we even have some party leaders who do not listen to criticisms and claim a monopoly in work and to the truth, and perceive any disagreement with their opinion as a phenomenon bordering on infringement of their own authority.

Today as at no other time what is needed is even greater consolidation of healthy forces in society, first and foremost our intelligentsia and its mobilization to resolve the tasks of further developing the native language, nature conservation and the preservation of historical and cultural monuments. However, nihilism, skepticism, criticism and wounded pride should not pass for objective criticism of shortcomings.

What is the worth of profuse talk by certain persons about their caring attitude toward historical memory if few of them visit our historical and cultural monuments, and even fewer take part in restoring them and keeping them in good order?

The kind of strong social resonance that the voice of the intelligentsia acquires when it reflects real rather than artificial problems of renewal can be judged from a recent article by Professor Tariel Kvanchilashvili in the newspaper KOMUNISTI. We attach great importance to this problem-oriented piece because some of our mass

media are lacking precisely in these kinds of sharp, interesting statements in defense of honest, conscientious labor on society's behalf and on mankind's behalf, and in defense of the good name of the masters of their trades. We warmly welcome this decisive step by our intelligentsia—a step testifying to its active civic position.

The truth of history and the truth of the present require a careful and well-considered approach. We are alarmed by the attempts to identify the illegal repressions of past years with the national character of the people. There is real need for in-depth, veracious and objective consideration of the road that has been trod and of everything that deformed the practice of the building of socialism and led to the administrative-command method during the years of personality cult under Stalin and to the dictatorship of the apparatus and then prolonged stagnation.

Many of the pieces published in our press and carried on television and radio are being devoted to these questions and there is broad public support for the decision to erect in our republic a memorial to all those innocent people who suffered during the years of repression, and to rehabilitate persons unjustifiably repressed during the Thirties and Forties and the early Fifties; none of this signifies a need (as some are trying to do) to cover the "blank spots" in our history with black paint and to attribute some evil intent to this in a sometimes prejudiced and incompetent manner.

Unfortunately, facileness, social demagoguery and falsehood, and tendentiousness are being displayed in a number of the pieces being published in our newspapers and literary journals. Sometimes it is difficult to understand what is guiding the editors of some publications who give space to authors whose writings are distinguished neither by in-depth analysis of the problems nor elementary journalistic ethics, nor any sense of responsibility to their readers. But it is common knowledge that a press organ is not a warehouse for each and every thought, and socialist pluralism should not become ideological omnivorousness and demagogic pretentiousness. An editor is an editor so that he can look into the essential nature of phenomena and recognize what is to the advantage of perestroika and what harms it. He must not forget that glasnost and democracy do not disclaim the party-mindedness of party and soviet press. The printed word is a combat weapon that the party has entrusted to us and it must be used skillfully and honestly! Neither must we forget that it is exactly under the conditions of glasnost and perestroika that the political and civic responsibility of editors for the socio-political thrust of the publications that they head is growing immeasurably.

The errors and delays by some of our mass media are the more vexing since during the period of preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference the newspapers KOMUNISTI, ZARYA VOSTOKA, SOVETAKAN

VRASTAN, SOVET GYURDZHUSTANY and other press organs, and television and radio, without, of course, avoiding some shortcomings, did carry a number of useful and instructive initiatives and enterprises.

There is sometimes lack of objectivity, careful consideration and restraint on certain pieces published in all-union publications, in which biased analysis of phenomena and facts can be seen.

Why, for example, did some people try to ascribe nationalism to the quite natural public concern about ecological, cultural and social consequences of building the Caucasus railroad across the mountains? We are categorically against one-sided, tendentious attitudes toward the fate of national languages and national cultures when a publication with a circulation of millions as if by chance tosses out a phrase about "wearisome Georgian polyphony." Or suddenly permits itself to write about some kind of "sporting botany" linking the success of southern soccer teams with the period of ripening for citrus crops. And we totally fail to understand the position of some publications that relish political anecdotes of an obviously provocative nature. Is it not clear that these kinds of attacks are insulting, offend people's honor and dignity and their national pride, and create unhealthy attitudes and heat up the situation?

For special tact, attention and preciseness is required in questions of inter-ethnic dealings, the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples and international indoctrination. A group of our authoritative scholars reminded us of this once again in a well-argued response to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, which carried a piece in which an attempt was made to present questions of the formation of the Georgian nation in a distorted light and from erroneous positions.

Tasks of improving inter-nation relations and the international and patriotic indoctrination of the workers confront the party and soviet organs and each leader with a real need to deal in a most attentive way with the specific socioeconomic and spiritual needs of the numerous nations and nationalities living in our republic.

And this means first and foremost insuring maximum equal opportunities for realization of their economic and social interests, thus comprehensively strengthening the material base for improving inter-nation relations. In this connection, compliance with the decisions we have adopted on further developing our multinational regions in the republic, first and foremost its autonomous formations, must be taken under special control.

Today it can be noted with satisfaction that during the course of realization of the measures drawn up, many regions have become closer in terms of growth rates in industry and agriculture, capital-labor ratio and power-worker ratio, and trade turnover and services, in particular in terms of indicators for development in the social

and cultural spheres, and also the population's income. And individual indicators are 1.5 times more and better than the average level for the republic.

The level of employment has risen significantly. The process of forming skilled cadres at the local level is taking place more rapidly. The number of workers and employees and specialists with higher and secondary specialized education, particularly among engineers and technicians, is growing at high rates that are outstripping the average indicators for the republic.

However, we can in no way be satisfied with what has been done. We must never succumb to a sense of total ease and satisfaction. It is essential to strengthen control and demandingness with regard to specific executors. The attitudes of ministers, department chiefs and leaders of enterprises of all-union subordination, and indeed of many local organs, must be more active in this matter. We expect more interest on the part of general economic departments in the republic.

The difficult days in Nagorno-Karabakh and the tragedy of Sumgait, and the disturbances in Yerevan have touched our hearts painfully. This is why we greeted with such unity the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree adopted in connection with events in neighboring fraternal republics and aimed at consistent implementation of Leninist national policy and strengthening the unity and cohesion of the peoples of Transcaucasia and the entire country.

The main thing now is to improve standards of inter-nation relations since wherever unremitting attention is paid to people's spiritual and material needs, wherever social justice is permanently shaped, wherever there are no violations of the legal standards or of legality, there are no grounds for manifestations of nationalist ambitions.

In order to improve all this work it is essential to direct in a new way the activity of coordination councils, working groups under the central committee, and party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms to perfect inter-nation relations and the international and patriotic indoctrination of the workers. This work must be raised to a qualitatively new level and assessed not from the number of measures implemented and the number of one-off campaigns conducted but according to how people of different nationalities live and work in friendship, brotherhood and agreement and effect perestroyka in our republic and on how we justify V.I. Lenin's hope that the close union of the Soviet republics of the Caucasus would create a model of national peace.

The Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Museum of Friendship of the Peoples must conduct its work in a new way, basing itself on a truly scientific foundation, and becoming in fact not just in words the center for studies

on problems of improving inter-nation relations and patriotic and international indoctrination and prediction of them. Up to now the museum has in no way justified its name.

It is important to embark on a reorganization of this work precisely now, on the eve of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of national relations, for which we must all seriously prepare ourselves.

The social sciences, whose present status in general evoked alarm and dissatisfaction both at the all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee plenum, are called upon to exert an active influence on the shaping of a new public awareness and psychology in people. All the groundwork has been laid for this. But our social sciences are lagging behind the demands of the time and still conduct their work outside the context of the main aims of perestroika. Serious caution should be evoked by the thought expressed at the CPSU Central Committee plenum that irreparable harm may be done to our revolutionary cause not only by our own interruptions and blunders in the sphere of the economy and social policy, but also by lagging, not to mention errors, on the theoretical and ideological fronts.

We again appeal to figures in literature and the arts and are convinced that they will all stand firmly at leading party positions, and we call on them to create new works of art that reflect in a worthy and correct manner our historical past and our present.

We now do all our work for the future. And our future is youth. It is precisely young people who must actively effect perestroika. In order to direct this youthful energy and initiative into the channel of perestroika what is needed is a long-term program for uninterrupted political and moral indoctrination of the rising generation at the level of the labor collective, the educational establishment and the family.

Indoctrination of the citizen-creator—what could be more honorable and noble! It is a lofty and noble mission laid first and foremost on the party organizations and communists.

Here I would like to emphasize the force of the educator's personal example. We are much concerned that our teachers do not serve as some ideal for students, a high example of civic maturity. Some 40 percent of all students polled think that their teachers are not exacting, and 60 percent believe that they lack objectivity and justice. A sorry evaluation!

Justice requires the inseparable unity of word and deed. And when this unity is disrupted there can be no question of justice, even less social justice.

We talk about social justice but what we show young people is protectionism and lack of objectivity in entrance examinations to VUZ's; which can be judged from the large number of complaints from secondary school graduates, including many collective complaints.

We talk about social justice but 80 students at secondary schools in Tbilisi, Sukhumi, Batumi, Tskhinvali, Gori, Tskhakaya and other cities and rayons and 600 graduates from vocational and technical schools were undeservedly awarded medals and diplomas with honors during VUZ entrance examinations, and then went on to receive unsatisfactory assessments at the VUZ's.

What kind of social justice can we talk about when some sports coaches, indulging presumptuous parents, and sometimes not without mercenary motives, openly engaged in forgery before the very eyes of the children, as happened during the recent all-union mini-basketball tournament in Tbilisi. Already from the age of 11 or 12 young boys have grown accustomed to living with lies and deceit, in a foul atmosphere of squabbling and intrigue. We think that an extraordinary thing has happened but the Ministry of Education and the Komsomol central committee attached no importance to it and did not even think it necessary to discuss it.

It is, therefore, not happenstance that incidents again occurred recently during the republic "Leather Ball" soccer tournament and the all-union swimming contest in Alitus city, where adult "uncles" again engaged in what were by no means "children's games"—forgery of documents.

The measure of retreat from the principle of social justice can be seen from the violations of the law by teenagers, among whom there are many who have been reared in an atmosphere of permissiveness, exclusivity and free license and a disrespectful attitude toward the principles of socialist communal living. Each case of fighting with knives, drug addiction and theft among our youth is a heartache for us. This year alone 312 young people committed 236 crimes. The worst situation is in Gori, Tkvarcheli and Zugdidi, and Zestofonskiy, Makharadzevskiy and Tianetskiy rayons.

Training a worthy replacement shift is a most important task for our society. This is why it has been decided to devote one of the CPSU Central Committee plenums to youth problems and the indoctrination of the rising generation. The republic Komsomol must become a true youth leader and guide, focusing the energy and strength of the rising generation on solving the fundamental tasks of perestroika.

One very important concern for the Komsomol is military-patriotic indoctrination of youth, which we conduct in close contact and cooperation with the Red Banner Transcaucasus Military District and the Red Banner Transcaucasus Border District. Together we resolve all questions concerning training young men for effective

military service, actively involving in this work internationalist-soldiers who pass on to the rising generation the ideological-moral charge acquired in Afghanistan, and we implement important measures to enhance the political vigilance of the population in the interests of defending the state borders; and much else.

The first and most authoritative indoctrinator of youth is the communist. And the republic's communists are justifying with honor their lofty calling and high trust.

However, here I would like to pose a different question—that of indoctrinating the indoctrinators and moral criteria for communists' behavior and the general standards of morality in party life and the ethics of the party member—a question that is now being moved to the forefront by the party.

Along with the concept of "perestroyka" a struggle has also been born for the pure and honest lineament of the party member. The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum called for undeviating observance of the Leninist ethics of Bolshevism, emphasizing that the process of perestroyka is inseparable from consolidation of the moral foundations of socialist society and the Soviet way of life. The 19th Party Conference was an important stage on the road of ideological purification of the party.

We are not about to cite examples of the high moral behavior of communists (even though there are many) because this is the standard. We are much more concerned about the anomalies, when communists retreat from the norms of party ethics and communist morality, sometimes forgetting about the concepts such as honesty, probity, ideological restraint and steadfastness and integrity.

How can we talk about purity of moral thought with regard to the chairman of the Chiatura city soviet ispolkom D. Guruli when one of his sons is listed as a worker but in fact does nothing but lead a life of dissipation, is often involved in conflict situations in public places, is often intoxicated, drives about in his own motor car listed under another's name, and recently had a criminal case instituted against him in connection with an attempted rape.

All this has become possible because of a father who turned a blind eye and who himself is not distinguished by modesty. D. Guruli has one apartment in Chiatura and recently acquired for a large sum a second apartment, also in Chiatura, and a third in Tbilisi, has inherited a fine home from his parents in the village of Tsirkvali, and finally, in that same village is about to build a fifth home. Go and talk to him about the ethics of a party member!

How are we to effect moral improvement in party life when as chief of the propaganda and agitation section in the party raykom imeni 26 Komissarov in Tbilisi city, G.

Dzhaoshvili organized together with other raykom workers a collection allegedly to hold a thematic friendship soiree when in fact they used money for a collective drinking bout?

Expelled from the party, he raised the question of readmission, which naturally was rejected. Obviously Dzhaoshvili is accustomed to think that he can get away with anything, that everything in life is easy, and, being an historian by profession, in a short time passed along what we might call a "lightning-fast road" from a fictitious job as aide to the foreman at the Tbilisi Worsted Cloth Combine to Komsomol committee secretary with raykom rights, worker in the Komsomol central committee apparatus, to student at the Komsomol central committee Higher Komsomol School and thence to party raykom. And obvious someone helped him along this road.

It must be admitted that despite the fine and correct resolutions that we have passed, protectionism has put down deep roots in the sphere of public health, education, trade, and the administrative organs, and now in also firmly entrenched in the Komsomol. Is this not the reason for the fact that 80 percent of Komsomol committee secretaries in kolkhozes and sovkhozes recently have been people who had nothing whatever to do with the specific work of that organization? How can it be that 90 percent of Komsomol committee secretaries in vocational and technical schools turned out to be chosen from among those who have nothing to do with the vocational and technical schools or the base organizations?

But what is so remarkable when the principles of personal loyalty, nepotism and local association are grafted onto cadre policy by certain party workers such as the second secretary of the Kutaisi party gorkom, comrade Sh. Maglakelidze, who while chief of the propaganda and agitation section in the gorkom started to move Manana Svintradze up the service ladder. Thus, the deputy director of a cookery school became an inspector in the gorispolkom department of vocational and technical training, and after 7 months, director of a vocational and technical school.

When Maglakelidze became gorkom secretary his opportunities immediately grew, and Svintradze climbed event higher up the ladder. Again after exactly 7 months the director of the vocational and technical school became a party gorkom lecturer, and another 6 months later took over the former duties of Maglakelidze himself as chief of the gorkom propaganda and agitation section.

Communists in the city were bewildered: why had an engineer-technologist in the food industry with no experience of party work been promoted so swiftly in the party apparatus? It turned out that the secret was very simple: Manana Svintradze was the wife of a close friend of Maglakelidze, a sector chief at the republic Ministry of

Light Industry Scientific Research Institute in Tbilisi, M. Gurgelidze. Tbilisi is not very far from Kutaisi, but of course, the friends had to live in the same city.

When a person descends to one misdemeanor, then why not another? If he can arrange things for the wife of a friend then why not help a relative? And Maglakelidze appointed his first cousin M. Maglakelidze, who had been working as the civil defense chief of staff at a knitted-wear factory, to the same post of inspector of the gorispolkom vocational and technical training section, and then transferred him to work as deputy director for training and indoctrination work at the vocational and technical school.

Instances of nepotism in Kutaisi have set down deep roots, and this has evoked the justified indignation of communists and the entire public in the city. It is obviously high time to call to order the high-handed leaders and those who enjoy their patronage.

Is there is any need to say that nepotism has no place in party ethics? A system for selecting people for work and arranging their affairs and their careers according to the principles of local association, kinship and family ties and ties of friendship and even casual acquaintanceship, is not so harmless as may seem at first blush. It has, so to speak, a firm "material base," and it pursues mercenary, utilitarian interests for which previously planned contacts are initiated and chance acquaintance is used both at the republic level and even the all-union level.

It is therefore essential to wage a most decisive struggle against nepotism. Incidentally, the concept of "favoritism" is not only patronage, influential support and helping to arrange someone's affairs. It turns out that the word has another meaning—a hole or chink through which water leaks. In the old days folks used to say "a roof with leaks." So let us close up tightly this hole, this chink, so that our moral values do not leak away through it!

The authority of a leader is acquired slowly but it can be easily lost. All that is needed is the slightest imprudence, the slightest blunder, the slightest retreat from the standards of party ethics, and authority is shaken! The party leader, official or worker of any rank has need of special circumspection, special care in his words and deeds, and special discrimination, I emphasize discrimination, in the choice of his friends and acquaintances. For it is not by chance that they say "tell me who your friends are and I shall tell you who you are."

The party worker and leader is in everyone's view, nothing goes unnoticed, nothing is ignored—how you conduct yourself at work, in public, among friends, within the family. And you are not forgiven the slightest fault—conceit and arrogance, rudeness and presumption, a disrespectful attitude toward people, a desire to

act ostentatiously, organize grandiose weddings or entertainments attended by many people. It is particularly unforgivable if a minister or high ranking party official, yes and even the rank-and-file communist, allows himself this.

How our friends and relations and the people closest to us behave depends on us. On the one hand, friendship, kinship and closeness oblige us to guard the honor, dignity, good name and authority of the leader or official if he is dear to us, while on the other hand, they oblige us to be more exacting, more demanding toward our own relatives, not forgiving them for the slightest improper act.

Let everyone carefully read the satire "Two-Faced Janus" published last month in the newspaper KOMUNISTI and consider carefully the characters of the heroes of this satire: will he not find in himself their unattractive little traits and behavioral mannerisms and their unworthy way of life; if a similarity is found then let him rid himself of it.

Today I would like to recall once again the words of V.I. Lenin to the effect that no deep or powerful popular movement in history has avoided some dirty scum—clinging adventurists and sharp dealers, the braggarts and shouters—so that careerists and rogues inevitably try to attach themselves to the government party, so that communists admit new members to the party not because they offer advantages associated with the position of the government party but because they have shown themselves to be examples of true communist labor.

Today we are talking about this because during the course of the accountability-and-election campaign it is the most worthy, the best, the politically mature and ideologically convinced communists who must be advanced to the leadership of the party organizations. They must be distinguished by high political, business and moral qualities—a sense of principle, implacability toward shortcomings and all negative phenomena and idle talk and ostentation, close links with the masses, openness, accessibility, sensitivity, an attentive attitude toward people, and concern for the individual and his well-being.

Comrades. Our time is a frantic and fast-changing time. One important event is followed by another. Sharp changes are taking place in the life of the party, the country and the entire nation. Much stepped-up work must be done. Ahead lies a mass of urgent matters, an enormous volume of priority tasks that must be resolved in short order.

We shall be able to cope with all these matters only when each communist and each worker is imbued with profound concern for affairs in his own collective, in his

own party organization, at his own work place, when he is uncompromising toward any shortcomings, when he becomes an active fighter for a general strengthening of discipline.

We shall successfully resolve all the tasks facing us if each person recognizes his own responsibility for the fate of perestroika, for the practical realization of radical economic reform, for the further economic and social development of the republic, for the broadest democratization of the entire tenor of our life.

We shall be able to handle all this stepped-up work if we never lose our sense of dissatisfaction with what has been done and achieved, if we are more self-critical, more exacting, more demanding both toward ourselves and toward others.

M.S. Gorbachev has said "Today is a time for action."

Permit me, comrades, to assure the Central Committee Politburo that the party organization in the republic is ready to act in the most active and most energetic manner.

We have already started to act, and the contribution from each communist and each worker to perestroika will be assessed, as the party demands, from specific work and specific labor results.

Draft Law on State Language of Estonia
18000139 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in
Russian 30 Oct 88 p 3

[Report: "Draft Law of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic On Language"]

[Text] The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is a sovereign national state, the state language of which is the Estonian language.

On the territory of the Estonian SSR every private individual as well as every institution, enterprise and organization is guaranteed the right to use the Estonian language both in its oral and in its written form.

The legal establishment of Estonian as the state language provides a direct tie between the Estonian language and the territorial integrity of Estonia and its population. On this territory, which has belonged to the Estonians from time immemorial, the Estonian language has priority, which is one of the basic conditions for ensuring the preservation of the Estonians as a nationality, and the inalienable right of the Estonians for state self-affirmation.

The Estonian SSR supports the teaching of the Estonian language and its scholarly research in Estonia, and supports its study and research beyond the borders of the Estonian SSR as well.

The status of Estonian as the state language guarantees the right of non-Estonian speakers to use their own native language. Citizens who speak another language in the Estonian SSR have the right to develop culturally in their own native language. The Law on Language establishes the free choice of language for a private individual. The creation of barriers and expressions of scorn toward the language chosen by a private individual is forbidden, and is punishable in accordance with procedure established by law.

The Law on Language decrees the protection of the Estonian language as the state language, and also decrees the use of other languages as working languages in the Estonian SSR. In all other situations not envisaged by the Law on Language, the use of languages is free.

Article 1. The state language of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is the Estonian language.

In the Estonian SSR the Estonian language is the working language at the organs of state power and state administration, and also at institutions, enterprises and organizations. Other languages are used in official work in accordance with the present Law on Language.

On the territory of the Estonian SSR a private individual has the right to use the Estonian language in office work and to speak Estonian at all organs of state power and state administration, as well as in institutions, at enterprises and in organizations.

Organs of State Power and State Administration

Article 2. The Estonian language shall be the language for conducting business at the organs of state power and state administration. The Estonian language shall be used at meetings and other working sessions of the organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR.

Official documents of the organs of state power and state administration of the USSR shall be adopted and published in the Estonian language; Russian language translations shall be published as well.

In accordance with Article 37 of the Law on Language, other languages may be used for conducting business at local organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR.

Article 3. In addressing persons outside the republic, the organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR shall use the language common to both parties.

Article 4. In addressing one another, and in appeals to institutions, enterprises and organizations situated on the territory of the Estonian SSR, the organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR shall use the Estonian language.

In those instances enumerated in the preceding sections, organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR, in addressing those institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR for whom use of language is established in Articles 36 and 37 of the Law on Language, another language may be used.

Article 5. In conversation with a private individual in the Estonian SSR, the organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR shall use the Estonian language; but in conversation with individuals who do not know the Estonian language, Russian, or any other language, shall be used.

The organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR shall respond to a private individual in the language in which they were addressed, or in another language which both parties have in common.

Documents shall be issued to a person in either the Estonian language or any other language, in accordance with their purposes or the desires of the individual.

Institutions, Enterprises and Organizations

Article 6. The language for conducting business within institutions, enterprises and organizations situated on the territory of the Estonian SSR shall be the Estonian language (with the exception of cases indicated in Article 19 part 2 and Article 26).

In order to use another language, institutions, enterprises and organizations must present to the Commission on Language Preservation of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, a justified petition for permission to use that language for a three-year period. A worker shall be furnished working information in the Estonian language; it is mandatory that the internal accountability received from the worker shall be in the Estonian language.

Subdivisions of the institutions, enterprises and organizations indicated in the preceding part have the right to conduct office work in the Estonian language.

Article 7. The language for conducting business at institutions, enterprises and organizations set up on the Estonian SSR shall be the Estonian language.

Article 8. When institutions, enterprises and organizations situated on the territory of the Estonian SSR address persons outside the Estonian SSR, the language common to both parties shall be used.

Article 9. When appealing to organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR, institutions, enterprises and organizations situated on the territory of the Estonian SSR shall use the Estonian language.

In the situations enumerated in the preceding part, another language may be utilized in accordance with Articles 36 and 37 of the Law on Language.

Article 10. Institutions, enterprises and organizations situated on the territory of the Estonian SSR shall address one another in the Estonian language.

In the situations enumerated in the preceding part, another language may be utilized in accordance with Articles 36 and 37 of the Law on Language.

Article 11. When addressing a private individual in the Estonian SSR, institutions, enterprises and organizations shall use the Estonian language; but when addressing persons who do not know the Estonian language, Russian, or any other language shall be used.

Institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR shall answer a private individual in the language in which they were addressed; or in another language which both parties have in common.

Supervisory officials at institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR shall acknowledge the language of intercourse chosen by the subordinate, within the limits stipulated by the profession or position, in accordance with the instructions of Article 16 of the Law on Language.

Documents shall be issued to a person in Estonian or in any other language appropriate to their purposes or the desires of the individual.

Article 12. Intra-republic accounting reports and financial documentation for institutions, enterprises and organizations situated on the territory of the Estonian SSR shall be issued in the Estonian language.

The Judicial System

Article 13. In the Estonian SSR pre-trial actions and legal proceedings shall be conducted in the Estonian language. Persons taking part in the case who do not know the Estonian language shall be provided a translation of all materials on the case in their native language or in another language acceptable to them.

Pre-trial activities and legal proceedings, as an exception, with the consent of all persons participating in the case, may be conducted in another language.

The Private Individual

Article 14. On the territory of the Estonian SSR a private individual has the right to conduct business and converse in the Estonian language at all organs of state power and state administration; at institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR; and has the right to receive documents in the Estonian language.

The provisions established in the preceding part also extend to those organs of state power and state administration, and to the institutions, enterprises and organizations which have received permission (part 2, Article 6; part 22, Article 19; and Articles 36 and 37) to use another language.

Article 15. A private individual has the right to conduct business and to intercourse in Russian or any other language at organs of state power and state administration; and at institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR, in accordance with Article 16.

Article 16. The employees of the organs of state power and state administration, and social organizations; all supervisory workers and chief specialists; employees of the law enforcement and judicial organs; medical personnel and journalists; workers in domestic services, trade and communications; employees of the organs of control and workers in emergency live-saving services; and others, who in the course of their official duties have verbal intercourse with private individuals in the Estonian SSR, are obliged to master the Estonian language and shall utilize it to the extent established in Part 2, Article 38; which shall be a prior condition for their selection, and for concluding and continuing labor contracts with these persons.

The mastery and use of other languages, including Russian, by the persons enumerated in the preceding part, is mandatory within the bounds of their official duties and professional requirements.

The requirement established in the first part shall be applied in accordance with Article 38 of the Law on Language.

Article 17. In the sphere of trade and domestic services, the person being served is granted the right of free choice of language of intercourse; for the worker providing the service, the use of the appropriate languages is mandatory, in the amount commensurate with the demands of the given profession.

Article 18. Every person shall choose the language for private conversation in accordance with his own discretion.

Education, Science and Culture

Article 19. The Estonian SSR guarantees receiving an education on its territory in the Estonian language. Access to education in the Estonian language shall be provided by a system of children's institutions and schools, appropriate to the age of the children.

The Estonian SSR recognizes the right of all its citizens to have children's institutions and general-educational schools in their native language. Conduct of internal business at non-Estonian-language children's institutions and general-educational schools may be in one's native language.

Supervisors at children's institutions and academic institutions, as well as the instructor and teacher staff, must possess the language of training and education adopted at the appropriate department of the academic institution.

Article 20. Citizens of the Estonian SSR have the right to mono-lingual institutions and general-educational schools.

Article 21. The Estonian SSR guarantees training in the Estonian language at all academic institutions using another language, regardless of their departmental subordination.

All students at higher educational institutions who have not mastered the Estonian language, shall receive Estonian language instruction.

Article 22. The Estonian SSR guarantees, on its territory, at secondary, secondary-specialized and vocational-technical schools, and at higher educational institutions, instruction in the Estonian language for all specialties taught in the Estonian SSR, regardless of the departmental subordination of the academic institution.

Article 23. In the Estonian SSR, refresher training shall be conducted in the Estonian language.

In the sphere of refresher training, other languages may be utilized in accordance with part 2, Article 6; part 2, Article 19; and Articles 36 and 37 of the Law on Language.

Article 24. The Estonian SSR guarantees the right to present scholarly works and to defend them in competition for an academic degree, in the Estonian language.

In the Estonian SSR the choice of languages for scholarly publication is free; the defense of academic degrees may also be conducted in a language adopted by a specialized council.

Article 25. In the Estonian SSR the state guarantees the priority of development of the Estonian culture.

In every city and rayon of the Estonian SSR, free use of the Estonian language must be guaranteed in the mass information media and at cultural institutions.

The Estonian SSR guarantees the operation of radio and television channels in the Estonian language, and access to them throughout the entire territory of the Estonian SSR.

The Estonian SSR guarantees translation to the Estonian language for motion pictures, videos and other audio-visual productions during their public showings.

The Estonian SSR guarantees the priority of issuing publications in the Estonian language.

The Law on Language does not regulate the use of language pertaining to religious activities and the performance of rites.

Article 26. In the Estonian SSR national cultural associations may use their national language in their internal business, and issue publications, records and documents in their native language.

National cultural associations may, along with state institutions, be the initiators of children's institutions, schools, cultural establishments and periodical publications in their own language. And they have the right to organize extracurricular academic-educational work in their own native language.

Business correspondence between national cultural associations and organs of state power and state administrations, as well as that of institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR, shall be conducted in the Estonian language.

Article 27. At public meetings held in the Estonian SSR at the republic or local level, and at gatherings and conferences, the choice of language for the speeches shall be optional, providing the organizer guarantees translation to the Estonian Language.

The languages in which international and inter-republic mass meetings are held, and the need for translation at them, shall be determined by the organizational committee.

In the Estonian SSR, worker meetings at institutions, enterprises and organizations shall be conducted in the Estonian language; speeches in other languages shall, upon the demand of a person taking part in the activity, be translated into Estonian for him.

Other languages may be utilized in accordance with Part 2, Article 6; and Articles 36 and 37 of the Law on Language; whereas translation in the Estonian language shall be provided to a worker upon his demand.

At children's establishments and academic institutions employing another language, worker meetings may be held in their native language.

Names and Titles

Article 28. Placenames in the Estonian SSR are designated in the Estonian language. The only exceptions permitted are those which are brought about by historical and historical-cultural considerations.

Every location in the Estonian SSR shall have a single, unique official name. It shall be recorded in letters of the Estonian Latin alphabet; and, in accordance with the rules established in the Estonian SSR, it may be transcribed in the system of other alphabets.

Article 29. Every citizen of the Estonian SSR of Estonian nationality has a name (or several names) and a surname (single or double). The name of an individual shall be recorded in letters of the Estonian Latin alphabet, and in accordance with rules established in the Estonian SSR, may be transcribed in the system of other alphabets.

Citizens of the Estonian SSR of other nationalities shall be named in accordance with their national traditions; for official purposes the name shall consist of at least a surname and one name. The name of citizens of other nationalities shall be reproduced in documents composed in the Estonian language in accordance with the established rules.

Article 30. The international spelling of placenames and the names of persons in the Estonian SSR, using Latin letters, shall be identical to the spelling adopted in the Estonian SSR.

The international spelling, in Latin script, of the names of means of transportation, buildings, structures and similar objects officially named with an Estonian word; or with respect to an individual, the surname, which in the original is spelled with Latin letters, shall be spelled in an identical manner, using the appropriate words, names, and surnames in Estonian texts.

Article 31. The detailed procedure for official use of names and titles is defined in the Estonian SSR Law on Names and Titles.

Signs and Information

Article 32. In the Estonian SSR Estonian-language forms and blanks shall be utilized; the Estonian text may be accompanied by translations.

Other-language forms and blanks may be utilized in accordance with Part 2, Article 6; Part 2, Article 19; Part 1, Article 26; and Articles 36 and 36, and when sent outside the territory of the Estonian SSR.

Article 33. Texts on seals, stamps and impressions shall be in the Estonian language, with translation when necessary.

Article 34. The text of signboards, announcements, reports and advertisements intended for general information, shall be in the Estonian language. Beneath this may follow translation or transcription may follow, in script no bolder than the Estonian text. When the text is accompanied by translation, the needs of the local citizens, inter-republic and international intercourse shall be considered.

Goods sold in the Estonian SSR shall be accompanied by information in the Estonian language.

Article 35. Combinations of registration marks in the Estonian SSR may consist of Latin letters only.

In situations defined in the preceding part, other letters may be used in accordance with Article 39 of the Law on Language.

Application of the Law on Language

Article 36. Institutions, enterprises and organizations situated on the territory of the Estonian SSR, in which the working language is not the Estonian language, shall in the period of one year from the time the Law on Language goes into effect, make the Estonian language the official language of business with the organs of state power and state administrations, and with the institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR.

Should a justifiable petition be furnished, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Language Preservation may grant permission to such institutions, enterprises and organizations to delay for a period up to 1 January 1995 the introduction of business dealings with the organs of state power and state administration, as well as with institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR, in another language. At the same time, workers shall be provided official information in the Estonian language.

Article 37. In the cities of Kohtla-Jarve, Narva, Palde, and Sillamae a transition period of up to 1 January 1995 has been permitted, during which time, as an exception, the currently-accepted language may be used in business dealings with local organs of state power and state administration, and with institutions, enterprises and organizations; whereas, workers shall be provided official information in the Estonian language. The terms of the transition period may be re-examined by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 38. The Estonian SSR shall provide urgent training in the Estonian language for a period of 10 years from the effective date of the Law on Language. Such training in the Estonian language shall also provide knowledge of the fundamentals of Estonian culture.

Estonian-language training for persons enumerated in Article 16 of the Law on Language shall be implemented in accordance with procedure established by the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers for a period of three years. The requirements presented for knowledge of the language for certain professions and positions, and the procedure of attestation, will be worked out by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Language Preservation and shall be approved by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 16 of the Estonian SSR Law on Language will go into effect on 1 January 1992.

Article 39. Transition to these conditions set forth in article 35 should be completed by 1 January 1995

Defense of the Law on Language

Article 40. The administrators of the organs of state power and state administration and institutions, enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR shall bear personal responsibility within the bounds of their competence for observing the requirements of the Law on Language.

Responsible officials and persons enumerated in Article 16 of the Law on Language shall be subject to disciplinary or administrative liability for violation of its statutes.

Article 41. The Commission on Language Preservation, which was established by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, shall be responsible for overseeing the observance of the Estonian SSR Law on Language.

Kirghiz CP Central Committee 15 October Resolution, Program on Bilingualism

18300089 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 20 Oct 88 p 2

[Resolution of Kirghiz CP Central Committee Buro of 15 October 1988: "On Further Development of National-Russian Bilingualism and Improving the Study and Teaching of Kirghiz, Russian and other Languages of the Nations of the USSR in the Republic"]

[Text] The Kirghiz CP Central Committee notes that, owing to the profound socio-economic transformations which have taken place since the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the subsequent putting into effect of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU, national-Russian bilingualism has been developing in the republic, and the conditions have been established for the free functioning of the languages of the fraternal nations and nationalities which dwell on its territory.

During the years of Soviet power, the Kirghiz language has become a developed literary language, and it is being actively used in the state, socio-political and intellectual spheres.

The aspirations of the Kirghiz people and the other nations and nationalities to study the Russian language, voluntarily chosen as the language of international intercourse, are steadily increasing. Mastering the Russian language along with the language of one's own nationality, as it was noted in the new edition of the CPSU Program, increases one's access to the achievements of science and technology, and to both indigenous and world culture.

Under the conditions of equal rights for the languages of the socialist nations and peoples, instruction and study of the Uzbek, Dungan, German and Tajik languages are being conducted in the Kirghiz SSR.

There are 1,680 general-educational schools in the republic; of these, Kirghiz is the language of instruction in 983; Russian, in 274; Uzbek, in 116; Tajik, in 7. In 12 schools German is taught as a native language, and the Dungan language in 11.

Schools with parallel language training are becoming more and more widespread; one pupil in every four attends one of these. Practical experience in training in the native and the Russian languages in the same school serves the cause of internationalism and the fraternity of nations.

At the same time a considerable number of unresolved problems have accumulated with respect to the study, instruction and use of the Kirghiz, Russian and other national languages.

During the period of the years of stagnation, insufficient attention was devoted by the young people of the indigenous population to the study of the Kirghiz language at academic institutions, kindergartens and nurseries in the republic. The Kirghiz language textbooks for the 7th and 8th grades, and Kirghiz literature for the 5th and 6th grades at schools with Kirghiz-language instruction, do not meet the demands of life; nor do the academic plans, programs, and Kirghiz-language textbooks, for schools with instruction in the Russian language. There are not enough well-developed textbooks on the Kirghiz language for the VUZes and specialized secondary schools. A significant portion of the urban young people of the indigenous nationality do not know their native language well. Halting the study of the given subject in schools where Kirghiz is not the language of instruction was without grounds. Courses and study groups where those who wish to could learn the Kirghiz language are being organized at a painfully slow pace at enterprises, institutions and organizations.

Many graduates of schools of the Kirghiz and other non-Russian nationalities, especially in the remote rayons, because of poor instruction and study of the Russian language, experience difficulties in in-depth assimilation of contemporary scientific-technical achievements, in conversation with other fraternal nations of the USSR, and in performance of military service. Textbooks on Russian language and literature for schools in which Kirghiz is the language of instruction do not promote the formation of a culture of speech for the students, nor free assimilation of the language. The system of schools and classes with in-depth study of the Russian language is developing slowly. In 40 percent of the classes in the republic the study of Russian language and literature is conducted without dividing the class into subgroups,

which reduces the effectiveness of the instruction. Many school libraries are not equipped with books in the Kirghiz and Russian languages.

The serious shortcomings in the study and instruction of the Kirghiz, Russian and other languages became possible because of the fact that measures for developing and publishing dictionaries, handbooks, textbooks, methodological-academic aids, and literature for their study and instruction, were not carried out. Nor were the teacher cadres supplied with methodological-academic aids and literature at schools with Uzbek, Dungan, German and Tajik-language instruction. In essence, the Kirghiz CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers did not devote sufficient attention to these problems.

The Ministry of Popular Education, party organizations, and the rectorates of the pedagogical institutes and the Kirghiz State University are not taking decisive measures for making cardinal improvements in the preparation of teachers for the Kirghiz and Russian languages; for developing the professional orientation work and selection of students to fill the ranks, or for increasing the prestige and authority of the profession of foreign language teachers. Training at the Russian Language and Literature Department is carried out at a low level, and many graduates are incapable of doing highly-skilled work at school. Nor does the system for retraining and refresher training for Russian-language and Kirghiz language teachers, and their attestation, meet the growing demands.

The Institute of Language and Literature at the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences, the Kirghiz State University, and the pedagogical VUZes are not working out theoretical and applied problems of national-Russian bilingualism—such as, fundamental research on the language situation in the republic; a comparative typology of the Russian and Kirghiz languages; a methodology for teaching the Kirghiz, Russian and other languages; or the rules of Kirghiz pronunciation and punctuation. The Pedagogical Scientific-Research Institute, post-graduate institutes for teachers, and methodological study facilities, have not become fully engaged in this work. Progressive experience in the teaching of the Kirghiz and Russian languages is not being disseminated.

The press, TV and radio, the Writer's Union and other creative societies, and the Kirghiz SSR Znanie Society, are not taking active positions in propagating national-Russian bilingualism and the culture of international contacts among individuals. The principles of bilingualism are not always observed in office work, in visual agitation, and in the names of institutions, organizations, streets, localities, and so on.

For the purposes of implementing the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, for the all-round development and deepening of national-Russian bilingualism, and for the further

improvement of the study and instruction of the Kirghiz, Russian and other national languages in the republic, the Kirghiz CP Central Committee resolves:

1. The Secretariat and Central Committee Departments; party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms; the ispolkoms of oblast, city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies; the Kirghiz Council of Professional Societies; and the Kirghiz Komsomol Central Committee shall take concrete measures for further developing and improving the study and teaching of the Kirghiz, Russian and other languages of the peoples of the USSR in the republic. Proper conditions shall be created for the active functioning of the national languages in the various spheres of state, social and cultural life. The role of national-Russian bilingualism shall be extensively explained to the public, and a high level of language culture shall be formed for every citizen of the republic. Visual agitation, announcements, names of institutions, organizations, streets and the like shall be accomplished in two languages; simultaneous translation shall be accomplished when conducting CPKi congresses, plenums of the central committee and obkoms, sessions of the Supreme Soviet and Soviets of People's Deputies. Solution of this problem shall be looked upon as a matter of great social and political significance.

The Comprehensive Program for Further Development of National-Russian Bilingualism, and for Improving the Study and Teaching of the Kirghiz, Russian and Other Languages of the Peoples of the USSR in the Republic (see below) shall be affirmed.

2. The Ministry of Popular Education and the ispolkoms of oblast, city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies, shall on the basis of observing the principle of equality and voluntary participation, begin training in the Kirghiz, Russian and other languages from early childhood. Toward these ends, upon the request of the parents, groups shall be opened in kindergartens with the appropriate contingent of children, and training of teachers shall be expanded.

Study of Kirghiz language and literature shall be organized according to the wishes of the students and pupils in general-educational schools with Russian and other languages of instruction, at vocational-technical schools and at higher and secondary special academic institutions. For students and pupils of indigenous and other nationalities, courses and circles for in-depth mastery of the native and Russian languages shall be established. Explanatory work shall be actively conducted on the significance of the Russian language as the medium of international intercourse of the peoples of the USSR.

Beginning in October 1988 in-depth study of the Russian and Kirghiz languages shall be organized at 70 schools with Kirghiz-language instruction. The necessary number of schools and classes shall be reorganized for in-depth study of the Uzbek, Tajik, German, Dungan and other languages.

Recommendations shall be made to primary party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and to economic administrators of industrial, transport, communication and construction enterprises and institutions, to set up courses and circles for those who wish to study the Kirghiz and Russian language, and to provide them with the necessary material base, academic and methodological literature.

3. The Ministry of Popular Education shall, in a three-month period, organize the development of improved programs and methodological-academic and visual aids in the native and Russian languages for all types of academic institutions, and in cooperation with the State Committee on Publishing shall organize their publication in the second half of 1989.

Textbooks shall be prepared on a competitive basis for the new academic year in the Kirghiz language for the 7th and 8th grades, and on Kirghiz literature for the 5th and 6th grades. Experienced teachers, VUZ instructors, and writers shall be recruited for this work.

4. The Kirghiz SSR State Committee on Publishing shall ensure the publication in the years 1989-1992 of programs, textbooks, and methodological-academic aids for the Kirghiz and Russian languages, and literature for all types of academic institutions, circles, courses and university chairs in complete accordance with the demands; and their artistic and printing quality shall be improved. Publishing of books with parallel texts in the Kirghiz and Russian languages shall be increased.

Over the years 1988-1990 the necessary quantity of Kirghiz-Russian and Russian-Kirghiz dictionaries shall be published, as well as self-teaching materials in the Kirghiz language, Kirghiz-Russian and Russian-Kirghiz conversation books, and academic terminological dictionaries.

5. Gosplan, Minfin, and the Ministry of Popular Education shall consider in their national economic plans the changes in the requirement for skilled philologist-teachers, and shall stipulate for a five-year period starting with 1989, an annual increase in acceptance of 50 people for the specialty "Kirghiz Language and Literature" and "Russian Language and Literature." The possibility shall be examined for opening inter-VUZ chairs on Kirghiz Language and Literature, expanding the acceptance of graduate students and doctoral candidates at the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences, the Kirghiz State University and pedagogical VUZes for the specialty "Kirghiz Language and Literature," and "Russian Language and Literature in the National School."

The pedagogical scientific-research institute and institutes for teacher refresher training shall study the experience of training in the native and Russian languages in Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia and the Baltic Littoral, and shall utilize it in the practical work of the academic institutions of Kirghizia.

6. The Ministry of Popular Education, together with party and Soviet organs shall improve the selection of pupils to take final examinations and do professional-orientation work in the schools, and shall arouse the pupils' interest in the profession of teacher of the Kirghiz and Russian languages; and in the process shall make use of the experience of the country's leading VUZes, such as the Moscow Pedagogical Institute imeni V.I. Lenin, the Poltava Pedagogical Institute, and others. Contests, festivals, and holidays dedicated to the native language and other languages shall be held annually in the elementary schools, secondary specialized schools and VUZes. In Frunze, Osh, and Przhevalsk, schools for young language and literature specialists shall be opened at the pedagogical institutes.

Gosteleradio, together with the republic ministries of popular education and culture shall, beginning in 1988, conduct educational programs on television and radio for those studying the Kirghiz and Russian languages, and they shall produce three popular-scientific films on transferring the experience of their instruction to the elementary schools, specialized secondary schools, and the VUZ.

7. The Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences' Institute on Language and Literature and the Ministry of Popular Education shall concentrate the efforts of scholars specializing in languages on priority directions of theoretical and applied problems of national-Russian bilingualism: the methodology of teaching the Kirghiz, Russian and other languages; the teaching of the Russian language in national schools; in summarizing the work experiences of teacher-philologists with parallel language instruction; and in working out new editions of the rules of Kirghiz pronunciation, spelling and punctuation, and others.

8. The fact that the Council of Ministers, Gosplan and the Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Finance have examined the situation and have found it possible to allocate the necessary funds for implementing the Comprehensive Program for Further Development of National-Russian Bilingualism, Improving the Study and Teaching of the Kirghiz, Russian and other Languages of the Peoples of the USSR in the Republic, shall be taken into consideration.

9. Party committees and primary party organizations of academic institutions, scientific institutions and creative societies; the editors of republic, oblast and rayon newspapers and magazines; Gosteleradio and the Znaniye Society shall step up the propagating of national-Russian bilingualism, especially among the young people; and shall decisively repulse attempts to set one language of the peoples of the USSR off against another; and intrigues by ideological enemies which pervert the language policy in the republic shall be unmasked. The mass information media shall regularly shed light on questions of studying and teaching the Kirghiz and Russian languages and other languages, utilizing all kinds of genres; organizing special rubrics and selections; offering the

pages of the newspapers and magazines, as well as TV and radio, to the teachers, and to well-known figures in culture and science, and commentators; experiences shall be made more fully accessible, and the search for new approaches to these important problems shall be expanded.

10. A commission for organizing the implementing of the present resolution shall be approved, made up of the following members: Comrades M. Sherimkulov (chairman), R.I. Otunbayeva (deputy chairman), K. Akmatov, M. Bazarkulov, V.M. Zhuravlev, M.A. Rudov, B. Ryspayev, A. Erkebayev, and V. Yantsen. The CPKi Central Committee shall be informed on its realization annually in November, until 1995.

The appropriate departments of the Central Committee shall summarize the remarks and proposals stated in the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the given resolution, in the press, on TV and radio, and in the multitudes of letters to the Central Committee; they shall be brought to the attention of the party committees, ministries and departments, and control over their fulfillment shall be established. The public shall be kept informed of the measures taken, utilizing the mass information media for these purposes.

Readers Discuss Relevance of USSR National Anthem

M. Kushnir Letter

18000116a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 88 p 6

[Letter by M. Kushnir]

[Text] Simferopol—The music of the USSR national anthem is a symbol of the motherland for each of us. But, the words

Written by S. Mikhalkov and G. El-Registan, the anthem's text has seemingly lived on its own. The new edition of the text, where the name of Stalin is not mentioned, has the same trite nature in my opinion. Life has moved forward but the anthem's words have lagged behind it.

... Flashes of the recent European football championship, which took place in the stadiums of the FRG, come to mind. When presenting the players of the competing teams, the television cameras showed us the faces of the football players on a large scale. Many of them, in listening to their country's anthem sounding over the stadium, whispered its words. Tens of thousands of fans sang the anthems also.... When they showed our lads, they—alas—did not react to the USSR anthem. This was hardly from a lack of patriotism.

Recall the Marseilles and the International. Here, both the music and the text are united. Time has not had a powerful effect on them. Our age, the time of restructuring, which has opened up a new path for the country, is worthy of no less majestic and solemn anthem that would really reflect the spirit of our motherland.

First Reply

18000116a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Oct 88 p 6

[Letter from S. Tarnakin]

[Text] Armavir—I am coming back to M. Kushnir's letter "The Anthem's Text Is Obsolete", which was published in IZVESTIYA No 258. It is possible to quibble about individual lines and words—it is clear that the text cannot fail to carry the imprint of its time. Since we are now looking at much in our history differently, possibly it would be worthwhile to reflect this in the anthem's words. Here, it is probably necessary to listen to the opinion of poets and historians.

However, regardless of whether the text of the USSR national anthem is obsolete or not, we are abusing its performance—this is clear. For example, the anthem is played twice a day over the radio (with its text in the morning). What is the need for this? If it is played at a solemn occasion—we listen to it standing and paying respect to this symbol of the state. But at home? We are preparing breakfast, enjoying a bath, ... In a word, we have grown accustomed to the anthem and we accept its performance without attention and solemnity. That is why we rise at its sounds at meetings with a smile like this: "Well, they are asking again"

The people say that everything is good in a measured amount. A measure for state symbols is even more necessary.

Second Reply

18000116a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Oct 88 p 6

[Letter by N. Snhityuk]

[Text] Arkhangelsk Oblast—M. Kushnir's letter from Simferopol (IZVESTIYA, No 258) disturbed me deeply. Today, someone does not like the text of our anthem; tomorrow, others will demand that the national flag be painted a different color (you see, one can find the blood of killed innocent people in that color). Next, they will find "flaws" in the USSR national coat of arms and they will suggest that we replace the "sickle and hammer" with something else. Thus, you see, one can go very far if one destroys everything in succession without an analysis.

Yes, much in our history and politics is being reexamined now. However, do we need change for the sake of change? There exist traditions with which we have become intimate. One of them is our anthem. Let us not resort to just any alteration to please the situation.

Reader Complains of 19th Party Conference Stenographic Report Shortages

18000116b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Oct 88 p 6

[Letter by V. Semyenov: "Long-Awaited Volumes"]

[Text] Slonim, Grodno Oblast—During the work of the 19th party conference, it was reported that a stenographic report, which would be sold in retail stores, would be issued. They say that it has actually gone on sale—but in a limited amount. City and rayon party committees immediately requested it from the bookstores. There are practically none left for the ordinary reader. Is this really a normal phenomenon? There are simply no materials on the 19th party conference in the stores now. If we call this conference an historic one—and it really was—the documents about its work should be accessible to a very broad circle of the population so that they will really become a reference book and guide for action. You see, you will not work very much with the newspaper in which the report was published. Therefore, let us not create a shortage of this edition.

Of course, party workers have an acute need for these books—but so do the ordinary people.

Tomsk Obkom Chief Zorkaltsev on Territorial Accountability for Soviets

18000115a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 88
p 2

[Interview with V. Zorkaltsev, First Secretary of the Tomsk Party Obkom, by IZVESTIYA Correspondent A. Solovyev in Tomsk: "Masters and Not Petitioners; The Soviets Need a Law on Territory." Words/Passages in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] "The law is always right" has been the unassailable formula drummed into us for decades. The law existed by itself while living people with their needs and interests were by themselves. Now with perplexity we have realized that our state lacks many vitally important laws. The local soviets feel particularly acutely the absence of essential economic and social legal standards. What should the deputies do? Should they wait for the issuing of new laws? Or should they act, seek out and test? Reflecting on this in a talk with our correspondent was the First Secretary of the Tomsk Party Obkom and Delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, V. Zorkaltsev.

[Solovyev] At one time, you worked as the first deputy chairman of the oblispolkom. How did you feel in this position? Were you able to solve something independently?

[Zorkaltsev] When after 14 years of party work I was transferred to the party oblispolkom, I must admit I immediately felt the vital pulse.

In truth, I was soon convinced that the soviets in the form that they presently exist do not meet the demands of the times and they have few rights. And not only them. You just mentioned independence. The problem is not as simple as it may seem. On your trips you have probably noticed that when in the countryside the question comes up of what prevents them from acting independently, who, for instance, does the team or brigade leader complain of? Of the manager of the division who "applies pressure." But who prevents the manager from developing fully? The sovkhoz director. And who stops the director? The RAPO. But the leaders of the RAPO accuse the oblast agroindustrial association of all the mistakes.... And we all rush to defend the right of independence for the team leader, the director and the RAPO chairman. But have you ever read or heard that someone was concerned for the independence of the obkom secretary or the oblispolkom chairman? Or the independence of the oblast?

[Solovyev] You are speaking about this as if you had some proposal to make. Is this not a law on territory the necessity of which for 2 years now you have been reporting on in virtually every public comment?

[Zorkaltsev] Yes, a law on territory. This is the main thing that I would like to mention now. I have "rolled out" this idea at the obkom and oblispolkom as well as various meetings and I can see that it has more and more supporters. Its essence is briefly as follows. Presently, no one doubts that there must be a permanently operating mechanism for the development of democracy and this would firmly unite the processes of democratization with the economy in an indissoluble unit. Then these processes would be not only economic and ongoing but, what is particularly important, reversible. This mechanism is the soviets. Neither above nor to the side of the political system, but at its very heart. But in order that democracy not depend upon the individual, for example, the chairman, and the flow of events, the soviets should have a sound basis. And not only an economic one.

Those steps which were undertaken to develop new production relations in essence touched solely upon the production collectives and not even all of these. But this process is ongoing. There is more to this. The territories and soviets without fail must be incorporated in this new system of relations. In truth, it is easier to proclaim such an idea than realize it. The problem is of a many-leveled nature. It touches upon not only economic but also legal,

social, if you wish, psychological, as well as managerial problems. There must be a thorough theoretical and scientific elaboration. We must also have generalizations of concrete experience.

In our oblast, a large group of scientists for a rather long time has been involved in improving national economic management. There have also been some practical results. Around two-tenths of the programs in the ASU System of Tomsk Oblast is in operation. During this five-year plan, on the basis of an original, as we feel, approach, a system for managing scientific and technical progress is in operation. It has been named Acceleration-90.

However, in light of the new demands, these are just the first steps. It is essential to take an involved approach in developing economic accountability relations within the oblast, both from above and from below.

Operating in Tomsk Oblast are subdivisions of 72 ministries and departments. And each of these, as they say, "pulls its own oar" without being very concerned about the interests of the oblast. Recently, several proposals have been received from them and all are aimed at building or reconstructing enterprises while not one is focused on solving questions touching the vitally important interests of the people. Over the year, the oblast has completed several million rubles of capital investments. Of this amount, less than one-tenth goes through the soviets for social requirements. What can they do with such a percentage? It is precisely the soviet and no one else which should be the sole master on its territory. It is time to put both an economic and legal basis under this.

[Solovyev] But, as you know, is not asked for but is taken....

[Zorkaltsev] On this level our soviets are not sitting with their hands folded. There is a search underway and experience is being developed. The Tomsk gorispolkom, for example, makes active use of the right to draw upon a portion of the funds of the associations, enterprises and organizations located on the city's territory. These are funds which were formed by the measures implemented by the soviets to seek out reserves of the economy. Since December 1986, normative documents have been worked out to attract these funds into the fund for additional material resources for solving the economic and social problems of Tomsk. Upon the decision of the gorispolkom, money is collected from the enterprises for various types of services including for the construction and upkeep of housing, for water supply and transport, for attracting city dwellers to watches in areas of the oil fields and lumbering areas....

However, all of this is not being carried out smoothly and without conflicts. The industrial leaders sometimes hide from the gorispolkom behind the Law Governing a State Enterprise. In the gorispolkom we have now set up

a special laboratory of economic analysis and this determines the principles for the relationships between the local soviets and enterprises. It includes scientists, leaders, economists and sociologists. Under the leadership of Prof V. Gaga, provisions have been worked out on territory economic accountability.

Thus, the idea of a law on territory did not arise out of a vacuum. The oblast should become a unified socio-economic complex with the soviet at the head. Moreover, it should become a cooperative of the city and countryside, the city and the oil fields, the city and the lumbering enterprises.... A cooperative of collectives with the possibility and right of producing what they consider advisable and trading in what they consider advantageous. A law on territory will give the oblast an opportunity to coordinate its interests with the general state ones, to develop proportionately and harmoniously and not in individual jumps or setbacks, depending upon the whim of the ministries.

For now, the territory and its collectives are deprived of the opportunity of distributing the products produced by them. We, to put it jokingly, are being left in the forest without a forest, as it is under the control of the ministries. Understandably, it is not merely a question of the forest or the oil.... We are not independent in carrying out the main task of democracy, that is, satisfying the vital needs of the people....

The Law Governing the Enterprise has given the labor collective rights. The territory recognizes these. The labor collectives are a territory, or more precisely, the environment in which they not only work but also live. Otherwise, the alienation of the soviets from power will be preserved as they have nothing as a basis of strength. Look what is happening now? The ministries are losing influence on the labor collectives but the soviet is not acquiring this.

Real results can be achieved only under the condition of close cooperation between three forces: the labor collective, the territory, that is, the soviet, and the central bodies (the Union and republic ministries and departments). They may argue, they may not agree with one another, but here the social interests of the people should not suffer. Whose interests are defended by the labor collective? The people's. And the territory? Also the people's. With such an approach, the interests of the center should also not be different. And I am not speaking here about the local party organizations.

Then everything will be back in place. In the given instance, in analyzing the operations of the enterprises, we will not employ cubic meters and tons as this is no longer so important for us. Of course, we will fell lumber and pump oil but this is no longer "for the plan" but rather in order to build more housing, nurseries and so forth using the money received as a result of economic activities. Production will no longer be an end in itself. It

will become essential to the degree that it helps resolve social problems and improve housing. The primacy of social interests is capable of driving the economy as nothing else.

[Solovyev] It may turn out that it is better for Tomsk not to pump oil but, for example, train students.

[Zorkaltsev] Completely so. There are cities where the cost of one worker has been set at 20,000 rubles. And how much does it cost for Tomsk to maintain a student? According to preliminary estimates, at least 10,000 rubles a year. Let these expenditures be recovered by the city from those who are requesting specialists. If a ministry orders, then let it pay. But for now the VUZes, like other organizations, exist by themselves while the city is by itself. A law on the territory would make such an "independent" coexistence virtually impossible. This is just an example.

[Solovyev] But are you not calling for isolation....

[Zorkaltsev] No, independence and not isolation. In our socialist state, such a thing can simply not occur. The essence is something else. It is the territories better than anywhere else where funds can be invested and from which it is possible to obtain a greater return. If it has surpluses of some goods, then these can be exchanged or sold.

Each region will be somehow different from another, it can sell something or buy something. From neighbors and from abroad. This also determines its economy and appearance. Many are already doing this in the Baltic and in the border republics and oblasts. Our oblast is the geographic center of the nation but we also need international ties. These exist. Bulgarian scientists are collaborating directly with our Akademgorodok. The products of Tomsk are sent to scores of countries. We have received the equipment for a petrochemical combine from Italy. In Finland for lumber we have secured scarce materials for ourselves. Japan willingly purchases fern from us and in exchange sells what we need. We are about to start exporting peat—there are as many examples as you would wish. But, unfortunately, the oblast is still not independent in establishing direct contacts.

Hence, if the soviet would receive legitimate and not declarative rights, it would set to work. No, it would not be turned into a businessman. The soviet is still a political body and not an executive one. It must determine relations between the labor collectives and the center, including buying and selling.

[Solovyev] When you flew off to the conference in Moscow, was the idea of a law governing a territory already in your mind?

[Zorkaltsev] Yes. I was prepared to talk about it and the text of the speech had been sent off for the verbatim report. But this idea was reflected in the resolution "On

the Democratization of Soviet Society and the Reform of the Political System." Let us quote: "The leadership of local affairs should be reorganized on the principles of self-administration, self-financing, self-support and the coordinating of regional interests with national ones. For this it is essential to establish real conditions which would ensure the responsibility and independence of the soviets in solving the problems of the integrated development of the subordinate territories." It goes on to speak about the sources of income and for what purposes this should be used. A fundamentally important provision.

And what is being done by the soviets to implement it I have already described in referring to the Tomsk gorispolkom. And certainly the fact that our oblast provides itself with food products is a major claim to independence. Yes, there still are lines for meat products. But we are endeavoring to resolve this problem over the next 2 or 3 years as it has been solved "for poultry." This will be done both by building a large facility for producing beef and this will supplement the pork facility and the poultry farm as well as by the strengthened development of the private subsidiary farms and the rural shops of the enterprises. And, to what I come back to again and again, by the complete processing of the products of the farms and fields and also what is provided by the gardens, orchards and tayga: vegetables, berries and mushrooms. This is what we mean by everything. With such an approach, the prerequisites are created for solving the Food Program.

[Solovyev] If the idea of a law on a territory has become so captivating and if there is no doubt as to its feasibility, then why not try?...

[Zorkaltsev] We do not have any old bare idea. Such "tests"—consciously or spontaneously—are being conducted virtually throughout the nation. Sovkhozes and kolkhozes and enterprises are becoming cooperatives. And the fund for additional resources in our gorispolkom? Or the independent supply of the oblast with food products? Or another such example. In Tomsk now, for several years, there has been an inter-VUZ experimental production facility. This is an urgent and effective form of cooperative. It has made it possible rapidly and with minimum expenditures to set up complete production cycles for producing small series and prototypes of new equipment.

Cooperation is going on widely. Even with the certain paucity of electronic equipment, the VUZes, having pooled their efforts, have established generally accessible computer labs and on the basis of these have opened up training for computer operators for students. Recently the nation's first cybernetic center was organized at the Tomsk Polytechnical Institute having brought together the Cybernetic UNPK [Scientific Training Production Association], three schools, the TGU [Tomsk State University], a nursery and an instrument building technical

school. There are also inter-VUZ chairs, a polyclinic, a hospital, a dining trust and a repair-construction administration. In a word, these processes are occurring on the oblast level and actively so.

Also in this area are the specific comprehensive programs such as "Health," "Milk," "Construction," "Utilities" and others and these also bring together the collectives of the oblast regardless of their departmental affiliation. There is also housing construction by the "people's construction project" method. But, unfortunately, in a number of instances the soviets are still in the role of observers, petitioners, and not the masters.

[Solovyev] Is an experiment required?

[Zorkaltsev] Actually, why not conduct an experiment in several oblasts? This makes good sense as before adopting a law on a territory it must be "worked out."

We must not hurry with final decision. But, I feel that without putting things off we must start on the experiment. Then, after the first practical results, there will be something to discuss. And the soviets will feel their strength more quickly and really.

Moscow's First Public Self-Government Committee Formed

*18000115b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 88
p 3*

[Article by A. Stepovoy: "From Civil Positions; Inhabitants of the Brateyevo Microrayon Have Established Moscow's First Public Self-Government Committee."]

[Text] On the edge of Moscow is the Brateyevo microregion. Just 3-5 years ago, the surviving name of the nonexistent village meant little to the Muscovites. And that was no surprise. The place here was not attractive as it was the city dump.... And the nearby TETs, the oil refinery, the coking gas plant and the other smoking and fuming stacks did not make it any prettier.

Whoever took it into his head to build more multistory apartment houses here and thus "benefit" the Muscovites? Five years ago, when the decision was taken to develop the territory of Brateyevo, the city SES [sanitary-epidemiological station] rejected the plans "because of the polluting of the air basin with the wastes of the surrounding industrial enterprises." But the warnings of the specialists were not taken. In a short period of time an entire microrayon grew up in the ecologically unsettled zone with a population of almost 50,000, including 20,000 children. Later it was learned that to the existing problems they wanted to add new ones: in the near future they would erect a number of industrial enterprises. The people of Brateyevo began to protest. Initially, spontaneously and separately and then evermore solidly and tenaciously. They turned—individually and

collectively—to the executive committees of the Krasnogvardyskiy Rayon Soviet, the Moscow City Soviet and to the deputies. There was certainly no shortage of promises. Only real help was lacking.

Then the inhabitants of the microrayon reached the conclusion that they could resolve many of the problems by themselves. For this they merely had to unite the diverse forces. Thus they reached the idea of merging the various initiative groups of "Brateyevo ecologists" which by that time were numerous, forming a public self-government committee.

Before the opening of the constituent conference, I spoke with a member of the council of the initiative group, S. Duganov.

"Today the conference delegates will be offered to approve the regulation of the public self-government committee and the main areas of its activities. After the approving of this regulation (by-laws) at a session of the rayon soviet, our organization will gain legal status with all ensuing consequences."

...We watched with some amazement as over 200 persons without any administrative coercion discussed the most diverse aspects of the life of the microrayon in the school conference hall.

The conference lasted almost 9 hours. Home meetings had been held the day before. The self-government committee included the most enterprising persons. One voter was sent for every 150 adult residents (beginning at age 16) to the conference. Thus, the 210 voters on behalf of the almost 30,000 adults of the microrayon elected the members and candidate members of the committee.

In a sharp clash of opinions they discussed and approved each of the 7 sections and 25 points of the regulation (by-laws) for the committee. Participating in the discussion were lawyers, economists, pedagogues, workers, engineers and physicians. The residents wanted to take an active part in working out the plan for the socioeconomic development of Brateyevo and directly make proposals to the various levels. Considering public opinion here, they would like to settle many questions relating to the life of the microrayon. In particular, to influence the appointment and replacement of the leaders of the housing operations organizations, public health, education, culture, trade, consumer and utility services and the district policy inspectors....

The membership of the self-government committee can include, on equal footing with the microrayon residents, representatives of deputy groups not living on the territory of Brateyevo. The deputy of the rayon soviet V. Gorelov was given such confidence.

I would like to speak separately about one of the ideas emerging in Brateyevo. Here they are counting greatly on the fact that the new voting system provides the urban inhabitants with the right of promoting the candidacies of their future deputies at the territorial assemblies (the settlements have long had such a right). A majority of the Brateyevo inhabitants considers the existing practice of promotion solely through the labor collectives as not quite correct. Their main argument is that a good production worker far from always becomes such a social leader. The people at the territorial assembly would promote and approve the candidacy of only that person with whom they are personally well acquainted but also tested in social work.

...Of the 115 persons proposed as candidates, 55 were elected as members of the public self-government committee by secret balloting.

The head of the Instructor Organizational Section of the Krasnogvardyskiy Rayispolkom, T. Konovalova, who was present at the conference said about this:

"I know many of the persons who were elected to the committee. Almost each of them is already a trained deputy...."

I must admit that I did not expect to hear that the workers of the ispolkom see among the activists of the new social organization the future candidate deputies. Until recently the relations of the activists from the current public self-government committee with the local authorities were very shakey. Things had moved from unacceptance and miscomprehension to dialogue and collaboration. What had brought about such a change?

"By the fact that mistakes must be recognized and promptly eliminated," said the Secretary of the Krasnogvardyskiy CPSU Raykom, Ye. Pilyayev, in a talk with the correspondent. "I am confident that if we take a more attentive and prompt approach to examining a number of requests and demands for the inhabitants of the microrayon, the situation in Brateyevo would not have reached the intensity it did. Unfortunately, we still are better at demonstrating ambitions than we are at conducting a constructive dialogue. Ultimately, we have all arrived at collaboration, but we had to pay for every step."

Good and bad are always mixed. The initiative groups of the "Brateyevo fraternity" not only attracted attention to themselves but also forced some to review the stereotypes of the command-administrative dealing with the masses and others to escape from the fear of showing initiative which had not been sanctioned from above.

The Krasnogvardyskiy CPSU Raykom, as was stated by its secretary, Ye. Pilyayev, welcomes the fact of the appearance of the public self-government committee. At present, preparations are underway to establish similar committees in several microrayons of Orekhovo-Borisovo. But what about the rayon soviet and its executive committee: are they not afraid to give up the monopoly privilege of approving the leaders of the housing and utility organizations, the public health and public education institutions, the trade and domestic service enterprises?

"For whom are the director of the department store or the district policy inspector working? For the residents of the microrayon. It is they who should judge the work of these officials," was how T. Konovalova formulated the position of the ispolkom on the given question.

What sort of event did we witness? Let us not hurry with conclusions. We will merely point out the obvious that the residents of Brateyevo have created a qualitatively new type of public organization. Their civil activeness merits respect.

Krasnoyarsk Reader Proposes Abolition of Gorkoms

18000115c Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by N. Zyunkin of Krasnoyarsk: "Without an Intermediate Level."]

[Text] In Krasnoyarsk Kray, we have already begun to reorganize and reduce the party apparatus. For example, the raykom and gorkom have been combined in Minusinsk and in Kansk, Achinsk and Nazarovo such a unification is planned. In this context I have a proposal: in the cities where raykoms exist, is it not possible to dispense with the gorkoms?

In Krasnoyarsk there are seven raykoms which comprise the gorkom. I have been a party member for 43 years. It seems to me that such a structural unit as the gorkom is not essential. For more than 10 times I have been elected the secretary of a primary organization. I can say with complete responsibility that it is a matter of working directly only with the raykom. I have never experienced a need for gorkom aid and no one from the gorkom has ever appeared in our organization.

I feel that the raykoms could fully handle all the party matters in the rayon with the gorkom coordinating and supervising their work.

**KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA Reader
Hotline Draws Thematic Coverage Advice**
*18300137 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA
in Russian 25 Oct 88 pp 1, 3*

[Unattributed report: "KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA - Reader Hotline"]

[Text] Once again we have a hot line between KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA and the readers. This time the editors have asked the readers what they would like the newspaper to be like next year, which of this year's articles made a lasting impression, what they would like to read about, where the journalists should visit during the restructuring in the republic and what they think about the newspaper's effectiveness.

The hot line was scheduled for Monday, 17 October, but the editors were already deluged with questions, comments and suggestions the day before. The peak came on 17 October, of course. Calls came in from all parts of the republic. The newspaper's questions got a response from readers in Dushanbe and Leninabad, Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab, Gissarskiy, Leninskiy, Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy, Kolkhozabadskiy and Dzhirgatal'skiy rayons.

The worker, the teacher, the brigade leader, the agronomist, the doctor, the economist, the engineer, the party worker, the pensioner and the student spoke, representing the readers.

Common lines of interests and demands of the newspaper on the part of the readers were clearly outlined in the flood of pointed and candid responses and comments, serious and useful advice and wishes.

Be more emphatic and candid, be bolder in revealing deficiencies stemming from the period of stagnation in the economy and the social area, be more thorough in describing today's reforms—these were the general points made by all of the readers.

"In my opinion, the newspaper has relaxed its aggressiveness and militancy," said teacher M. Yakheyev, calling from Gissar. "We have no basis for relaxing; only the first steps have been taken on the path of the restructuring. You must not hold back but must speak out at the top of your lungs about the negative things which have not been eradicated. Why doesn't the newspaper introduce a column such as 'Letters Not For Publication'? I am confident that it would attract readers and authors."

M. Yakheyev, like party veteran Ivan Vasilyevich Ignatyev, believes that success in the restructuring is directly dependent upon participation and the setting of a good example by every Communist. It is the Communists who are expected to do everything possible to prevent a repeat of the distortions which took place during the

time of the cult and stagnation. There is a mandate to the newspaper that it expose every manifestation of conceit and arrogance to the light of glasnost.

The readers feel that the guarantee of the society's improvement lies in extensive glasnost, the instrument of which is the press.

The readers demand that the activities of officials and managers be illuminated in the newspaper as though with a searchlight.

Iskandar Mirzoyev, instructor with the party raykom, called from Kuybyshevskiy Rayon. He said that he liked certain articles on party workers. Among others, he read L. Kolbina's essay "The Party Committee Secretary" with pleasure. "I am left with a sense of dissatisfaction, however. The most needed and interesting thing for me, a young party worker, is how, by what means, at what price once achieves good results. Show me the 'technology' of this work!

"Or take the article 'Delineation of Authority'" about Ivanskiy Rayon. The headline promises a lot and touches upon one of the most important and difficult problems of the restructuring. What should we borrow? How can we learn? These very things were not covered by the editors, however.

"The purpose of the interview with the iman-(khatip), published in the Sunday, 9 October, issue, is not very clear to me. Was this not the promotion of religion in a party publication? Why was nothing said in opposition to the clergyman's statements? It appeared as though the correspondent had gone to the meeting with the minister of Islam without any preparation."

The editors feel that the criticism leveled at us by Comrade Mirzoyev is basically fair. We do not always succeed in thoroughly and completely revealing the essence of party work in our articles. And when we write about the professional workers in the party organs, it frequently appears that we take them out of their natural milieu and deprive them of their multiplicity of connections and influencing factors. This does not always occur for subjective reasons: the subject discussed is a complex one. We have redoubled our efforts to improve this aspect of the work, of course. With respect to the atheistic propaganda, a great deal is apparently changing and will continue to change in this area. For example, we have all too frequently made high-flown attacks on religious dogmas which do not need to be refuted because their baselessness is obvious, or, on the contrary, require calm and in-depth study. We have sometimes written against religious figures, many of whom are our natural allies in the main matters.

Polemics with highly educated clergymen would embellish our newspaper, of course. After a long period of ignorance and alienation, however, a simple acquaintance with them would seem to be useful.

The readers request that we write more, and write more clearly about the reform of the political system.

"I do not understand very well such changes as the combining of the positions of first secretary of the territorial party committee and the soviet chairman," I.V. Ignatyev says. "Take this as a desire to understand more fully the essence of the political system's reform and the delineation of the functions of party and soviet organs."

Dmitriy Vasilyevich Volkov, member of the CPSU since 1946 and recipient of a special pension:

"Take the article 'But Is Fazylov the Same?' published in your newspaper on 14 June. Or the article about how certain workers of Tursunzadevskiy Rayon were deprived of undeserved awards. Why is nothing said about those who recommended them for the awards, however, and how it was done? I would like to see glasnost enter into all areas of our life as rapidly as possible."

"What I want from the newspaper is for it to cover problems of indoctrinating the youth, problems of morality," teacher **M. Yakheyev** continued with his list. "The contemporary youth believe neither in God nor in the devil; they recognize no authority. It is incredibly difficult to work in the school today. The deterioration of morality and the growth of crime—these are subjects for the journalists. These are the problems awaiting investigation!"

Gaps in the indoctrination of the youth also concern **Asadullo Urunbayevich Abdullayev**, senior instructor at the Tajik Polytechnic Institute. He believes that youth with clearly inadequate preparation and with a poorly developed sense of responsibility for the results of their training are entering the VUZes. The VUZ essentially has to make up for the omissions of the lower schools, which ultimately affect the degree to which the young specialist is trained.

Then just who is to break this circle? In addressing this question to our readers, we assume, of course, that the educators themselves are capable of doing it. The newspaper will gladly make its pages available for their mutually beneficial, candid discussion of problems of the secondary and higher schools, and will increase its own attention to questions of indoctrinating the youth, particularly since many of the hot-line participants expressed a desire for this.

"VUZ life is a 'blank spot' in the newspaper today," Professor **Turdikhon Ishanovna Berdyeva**, head of the Arab Language Department at the State University imeni Lenin, believes. "The editors have somehow forgotten about the tradition of meetings between VUZ instructors and students, during which the sides gain mutually beneficial and important information." T.I.

Berdyeva would like to see articles about the education of young women and the work of the women's councils published in the newspaper.

Veniamin Vasilyevich Belevtsev, a serviceman stationed at the Dushanbe Garrison, is concerned about how well the youth entering the military service are prepared physically and psychologically.

"We constantly encounter poor physical conditioning in the draftees," he said. "A young man may wear a GTO badge on his chest but swim, run and jump extremely poorly. You should go after those who engage in this kind of deceit and avoid setting up good conditions for the military athletic training of the youth."

"In addition, the newspaper should use its combat weapon, words, for developing love and respect for the army."

"Everyday I pass by a tank set up as a monument to the military and labor feat performed by the residents of Tajikistan during the Great Patriotic War and see little boys literally clinging to it. It would not be a bad idea to arrange for frequent exhibits of combat and other military equipment in heavily populated areas so that the children could feel it with their own hands and sit in the seats of the combat crews. Today such exhibits are held only on military and DOSAAF holidays."

"I would also like the newspaper to devote some attention to the far from easy life of young officers. The homeland's defenders truly deserve some attention!"

Reader **Ivan Petrovich Levin** (he says that it is not necessary to mention where he works) is on the phone.

"In answer to your question 'Where should the journalists visit?' I would answer: primarily at the VUZes, beginning with the Physical Culture Institute. Concern for the health of our people and our youth is a key concern. In my opinion, every single issue of the newspaper should contain information about what we are doing for the health of the people, what we are doing to accustom people—children, the youth and the elderly—to physical culture and sports. At a recent session of the Dushanbe Gorsovet Deputy **K. Shukroyev** gave a report on the state of physical culture in the city. There was not a word about this in the newspaper."

While directing I.P. Levin's attention to the report on the session in the city newspaper **VECHERNEYE DUSHANBE**, we would agree with his desire that physical culture and sports and their significance in the shaping of the youth's character be publicized more vigorously.

"Let me give you the addresses of assignments for the journalists," **Rakhmatullo Abduvakhidov**, scientific associate at the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography imeni Donish of the Tajik SSR Academy of

Sciences, called to say. "In my opinion, they need to write more reports from the rayons of former Kulyab, presently Khatlon, Oblast. I regularly visit those areas on temporary assignments. The last time, I spent 15 days on a temporary duty assignment in Voseyskiy, Kulyabskiy, Moskovskiy, Parkharskiy and Khovalingskiy rayons. I will frankly say that I heard many complaints about the press, including your newspaper, about the fact that during the entire summer it contained only a few articles from that area."

The reproach is very appropriate. The editors have taken steps to enlarge the geographic area covered in its articles. KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA correspondent for the Kulyab area R. Abdulloyev has been instructed to cover the area's life more extensively. Just since the hot line was held KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA has carried three articles from former Kulyab Oblast.

"I feel that you do too little in your newspaper to defend the social rights of people," serviceman V.V. Belevtsev added in his telephone call. "Everything is important in this area. Let me tell you about myself. The heating season has begun, but in our building, 30/2 on Gafurov Street, there is no hot water and the radiators are cold. I have four children, one of them a nursing infant. For a long time Frunzenskiy Rayon's Housing Maintenance Administration-8 has offered the same old excuse that they lack some kind of shut-off device. It is as though they have placed the responsibility for it onto my family and many others. That is not right."

F.K. Kompanets, chief of the EKHS of the Nurek GES:

"Our service is considered to be a shop of the Nurek GES, but it handles all of the city's utility problems. The GES is now going over to complete economic accountability, but what are to do? You write economic articles from industrial enterprises. We face the same, very acute problems, however. There is a great need for more information on the work of municipal services in the new situation. I suggest that you introduce a special column."

We reached agreement on some material with V.K. Kompanets.

Reader Kh.M. Khudoyarov called from Kolkhozabad and asked that we print more on the urgent needs of people. "What is the slate supply situation in our republic?" he asks. "It is hard for individual builders to get slate in Kolkhozabad. Slate shipments to local construction materials stores are sold out within an hour or two. It is the same with lumber. And shipments are rare. Could you get to the bottom of this problem? You did write, after all, that individual construction has been given a green light."

Dushanbe resident D. Zaripov (Fedin Street, 16, Apartment 41) called the editors. He was clearly upset.

"I have called the ZhEU and the housing trust more than once about the heating systems in the apartments. The stand-pipes leak, there is rusty water beneath the pipes, and no one remembers to flush out the radiators. I wrote to the editors without waiting for a reply, but I have not received any help."

We report to D. Zaripov that his letter was discussed during a round-table discussion on heating problems conducted by the letters section of the editorial office. It was decided at that meeting that all complaints about heating, inferior repairs and the like would be sent to the appropriate rayispolkoms and that the editors would monitor what is done in response to them.

Many readers are concerned about the improvement of municipal services and utilities, about the endless digging-up of the streets.

"Residents on our street, Surkhob," complained Dushanbe resident A. Gadoyev, a sergeant in the internal service, "are late for work through no fault of their own. The adjacent street has been dug up, and no kind of traffic can get through. They promise to complete the work in December. Even that is questionable,... We are hoping for help from the newspaper!"

In addition to the inefficient operation of city transport—the intervals between buses are inordinately great—pensioner A.K. Salikhzade is greatly pained also by the conduct of the passengers themselves, by the absence of any sort of measures to maintain order at the stops.

"I once saw some young people, students from either a regular school or a vocational and technical school, burst through the front door and strike an elderly person so hard that he fell and struck his head on the asphalt. Write more about standards of behavior," he requests.

Respected Salikhzade, we have heard your request. It is the job of all of us jointly, however—the school, the family and the community—to develop culture. We should not indulge the ruffians but give them a concerted rebuff; not avert our eyes in shame or ask pathetically "Where are the police?" but take action ourselves. The community constitutes a considerable force, after all.

A report by Galina Leonidovna Rakhimova, deputy chairman of the community council for Dushanbe's 62nd Microrayon, is confirmation of this. The council keeps an eye on order in its microrayon—in the yards and on the streets—and on their condition. Its activists have begun monitoring the operation of the food stores and the trade in scarce goods in the microrayon.

G.L. Rakhimova also participated in the first, April hot line, and many of the issues brought up by her have been resolved.

"We thank the newspaper for the help. Now we would like to get your assistance in accelerating the building of playgrounds in the microrayon, which is being held up by a lack of carbide and oxygen. In addition, it is a dream of our residents to build a youth center in the microrayon."

"Is this the hot line? This is **Davron Sharipov**, secretary of the Kumsangirskiy Rayon Ispolkom. The residents of our rayon and those of Kolkhozabadskiy and Pyandzhskiy rayons cannot get the second Central Television channel. Can you help us?"

We are sending your request to the republic Ministry of Communications. We believe that they will find a way to resolve this urgent problem.

M. Zhalilova, worker with the Tsentralnyy Rayon Social Security Service:

"One cannot buy children's tights, particularly in sizes 16 through 18. What is the cause of this? Is it again some sort of man-made shortage?"

I. Abidov, director of the Dushanbe Hosiery Factory, answers the reader's question:

"It is difficult for us to produce panty hose of other sizes: 12-14 for children and 29-33 for women. This is caused by a lack of equipment. In addition, the factory is so pressed for space that there would be no place to install the equipment. The matter of enlarging the factory has been discussed for a long time but has still not been resolved.

"Our nation does not produce the equipment at all for making cotton panty hose in the large sizes. The only thing we could do would be to begin producing them out of a new material with greater elasticity.

"With respect to children's tights, sizes 16 through 18, this is news to me: the factory fulfills its contract for their delivery to the trade system."

A.S. Poznyakov, our permanent writer, who works at the Tadzhikgidroagregat plant, called. He requested that we write more and be more militant in our articles about the economic situation in the cities, particularly Dushanbe. The capital is 7th in the nation with respect to air pollution, after all. In fact, Poznyakov reported, enterprise shops with harmful emissions continue to be enlarged in the city. Who approved the opening of a new foundry at the Tadzhikgidroagregat plant, which is adjacent to the downtown area? Think about the fact that they are razing a school building to clear an area for it. And this at a time when practically all of the city schools are operating in two or three shifts. They have already razed two apartment buildings at a time when 36,000 people are waiting for housing. Instead of housing, there will be a plant building actively poisoning the city's air.

"Hello, editors? This is **Radzhab Khaydarov**, secretary of the Komsomol committee at the Dushanbe Fittings Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze. If you recall, I called during the first hot line to talk about the fact that the purification facilities at the Shaynak Hog Sovkhoz operate unsatisfactorily and the waste runs into the river. I appealed also to the chief of the Kafirnigan Irrigation Basin, but nothing has changed. Your immediate intervention is required to put an end to its harmful effects upon the health of the people and the condition of the river."

"I always read articles about nature protection—land, water and air, and the orchards—and I share the alarm and anger of the authors of articles against the enormous quantities of nitrates and nitrites in vegetables, fruits and melons," said pensioner **Nina Moiseyevna Salikhzade**, honored school teacher of the Tajik SSR. What now? How are those articles received by the people who should prevent the poison from reaching our tables? Far from all of the sellers at the Barakat market have certificates of quality for their vegetables and cucurbits. Did the newspaper, as it appears, speak out once or twice and then become satisfied with a formal reply?

"I recently read in the central press and saw a television program on complaints by the Muscovites about the quality of produce coming from the republic. I believe that the very best is sent to Moscow. Then just think about the poor quality and unsightliness of produce at our stands. All of us consumers know how much rotten produce and trash the salesclerks weigh out along with the vegetables."

"Why is the price of vegetables going up in the trade system?" asks **M. Kadyrova**, mother of a large family, from Dushanbe. "This last year potatoes could be bought for 20 kopecks, but now you can't find them even for 30. And they are of such poor quality...."

We are passing on your justified complaints, readers of ours, to those in charge of the State Agroindustrial Complex, the trade system and sanitation inspection, and asking them to respond in the newspaper.

A caller from Gissarskiy Rayon asks the same old question:

"When I travel to Dushanbe on business I usually buy a small amount of smoked sausage to take home," **R. Poletova** says. "At the cooperative price, of course. The same lightly smoked sausage (Poltavskaya) sells at the state price of 3 rubles and 60 kopecks in Moscow. Why have only the cooperative prices been set here? Doesn't this trouble anyone?"

"I moved here from Siberia 17 years ago and immediately subscribed to **KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA**," we were told by **Irina Ivanovna Gryaznova**, who works at School No. 23 in Leninskiy Rayon. "I have read your newspaper continuously since then. I have had

faith in the section 'Follow-Up on Our Articles' and have been pleased to see that steps are being taken and bad things are being eliminated. I have encountered a situation which shook my faith, however. The 20 February issue of the newspaper carried my comments about the awful meals the children are fed in the school cafeteria. The newspaper then carried a report from the rayispolkom to the effect that steps were being taken and the situation was improving. In fact, no one had any intention of changing anything, and the children's health continues to be damaged by the inferior food. I was then made out to be a 'slanderer.' My comments were discussed at a meeting of the collective, and everyone there (except for four abstentions) said that I had slandered good cooks. It is now difficult for me to work here."

The same kind of pain and injury could be detected in a call to the editors from **Shakufe Chingizovna Ivanova**, instructor at the Dushanbe Construction Tekhnikum.

"My critical comments about deficiencies in the performance of the party organization evoked a storm of indignation and reproaches," she said. "Help us get to the bottom of this situation."

We will get back to your requests, **Irina Ivanovna** and **Shakufe Chingizovna**.

"Is this the editors? Hello. This is **Nasir Suurov** in Dzhirgatal.

"Hello, Nasir."

"I wrote to your newspaper in April of this year. The reason: my unlawful removal as a school director. A correspondent came here in the summer, and the article 'A Breach' was published in **KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA**. Everything it said was true. This has not made things easier for me, however. Two and a half months have gone by since the article was published, but no steps have been taken. Does this attitude toward critical articles suit the editors?"

Of course not. You persuaded us to return to the facts cited in the aforementioned article. Particularly since the **Chirgatal'skiy Rayon** party committee did not assess them from a standpoint of principle.

Calls from readers in **Khatlon Oblast** came in one after another.

"What was the outcome of the article 'Personally Devoted'?" asked **N. Nasyrova**, **A. Suleymanova**, **R. Karimov**, **Ye.G. Agramkina**, **A. Bektashev** and **S. Mirzosharifov**.

You recall that following the February article in the newspaper which discussed the actions of **Yu. Kucharov**, chairman of the oblast agroindustrial complex, he was removed from his position and issued a stern reprimand by decision of the former **Kurgan-Tyube Oblast** party committee.

"And what about those who supported **Yu. Kucharov**, those who were involved with him?" the readers asked. "Why have **R. Rakhimov**, worker in the part obkom, and **O. Shodyyev**, former director of the oblast directorate of cattle procurement and fattening, escaped attention? There have been no changes in the situation of **S. Nazifov**, whom the newspaper undertook to protect. Furthermore, his position is to be eliminated."

These are difficult questions, but the editors along with the readers expect answers to them from oblast leaders.

We want to take this opportunity to ask other readers whose warnings we published to write and inform us about whether steps have been taken and the situation improved.

We, for our part, shall try to see that the readers' faith in the force of the newspaper article is not shaken.

Solidzhon Sasyrov, a propagandist from Dushanbe and our constant reader and writer, suggested a large number of subjects to the editors.

"I recall the articles 'Arrogance,' 'Failure' and 'The Round Table' about consumer service workers," he said. "I would like to see the newspaper carry more articles on legal subjects and interviews with workers from law-enforcement agencies. I feel that a column entitled 'Universal Legal Education' would be useful. As a propagandist I am interested in articles on sociological studies, but I find practically none in the newspaper."

"All of us are concerned about the fate of the **Aral Sea**, and I feel that you should keep the readers constantly informed about steps to save it. We are to blame for the tragedy to this priceless gift of nature. Before it is too late, the people must be taught to take care of nature—the water, woods and land. Why does the newspaper not speak out against the squandering of water, so valuable in our situation?"

We accept your suggestions, **Solidzhon**.

It would be interesting to hear the opinions of fellow writers, to hear their professional, even if unpleasant, comments.

Kurbon Siddikovich Mukhit, who works for the newspaper **ADABIYET VA SANAT**, wishes that the editors would demonstrate "greater innovation in the composition of the newspaper, in the development of subjects and the use of the great diversity of possibilities of the

genre. You need to eliminate conservatism from the pages, be bolder about taking on urgent problems of concern to the reader and expose 'blank spots' in the republic's history.

"The problem of national relations and international indoctrination is vitally important today," K.S. Mukhit believes—and his opinion coincides with that of **Mirzo Shukurov**, senior editor at the Abit publishing house. Special tact and sensitivity and deliberated assessments are needed. Tactlessness—and it does occur—is mutually harmful.

It is very important to acquaint the readers more thoroughly with the rich classical cultural heritage of the Tajik people, a truly priceless spiritual treasure, and to develop in the people a love for our native parts and for our large homeland," those we spoke with believe.

Mirzo Shukurov is convinced "that every journalist should have his own subject, that only then will he get through to the hearts of the readers. I would like to wish my colleagues a greater knowledge of the specific features of the national character and of the good traditions of the people. You have some good columns: 'Your People, Republic' and 'We Are Internationalists.' But why do they appear so rarely"?

"The problems of bilingualism and the study of the Russian and Tajik languages are extremely important today," **Asadullo Urunbayevich Abdulayev**, senior instructor at a polytechnic institute, believes. "We

regard the newspaper as our reliable assistant in this matter. I can tell you that the readers sometimes irritate me with their incorrect spellings of geographic and personal names."

We accept A.U. Abdulayev's comments and hasten to say that he was taken seriously. Literally the day after the hot line the newspaper carried an article by Candidate of Philology **Z. Kholnazarova**, "Remember Your Name," with information about the correct spelling of personal and other names.

Also, the comments and advice of our colleagues are a direct help to us.

In Conclusion let us say that although we heard a great deal of criticism, the hot line was extremely beneficial to us. The readers have helped us to reveal "blank spots" in the newspaper and given us many subjects and addresses to which we shall return.

We were happy to see the readers' interest in improving the newspaper and the readers' calls for militancy and pointedness in the articles. We accepted with understanding all of the wishes and advice, much of which will be taken into account for working out the editorial plans.

We now turn to you, dear readers! We can make the newspaper more interesting, complete and sharp-edged only with your help. Write us about what you find troubling, alarming or pleasing, and the newspaper will gladly make its pages available to you.

The telephones were manned by **V.P. Naumov**, **T.P. Karatygina**, **V.Ye. Moldaver**, **V.I. Dashkevich**, **V.V. Vorobyev**, **A.G. Pal**, **A.K. Alimov**, **S.A. Ozun**, **S.M. Dadashev**, **L.S. Latypova**, **G.D. Kleynman** and **S.M. Shongin**.

Historical Development Given for Publication of Lenin's Works

18300010 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Sovokin: "Eternally Living Lines—The Search for and Study of Lenin's Works Continues"]

[Text] *The question of the preparation and issue of a new, sixth Complete Collected Works by V.I. Lenin is currently being considered. The chief of the sector for Lenin's works at the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee relate what brought about the necessity of this publication and the history of the publication of Lenin's works.*

The history of the writing and publication of Lenin's works is one of the most attractive pages in the epistemology of Marxism and its development under new conditions. The ideas of Lenin became the guiding thread for the party of the Bolsheviks that led to the victory of October, the establishment of the power of the soviets and the laying of the foundation of socialism in our country.

The formation of a Leninist inventory of documents and their publication in the first edition of the Works of V.I. Lenin were an important step in studying the ideological legacy of Vladimir Ilich. It was undertaken as early as 1920 by decree of the 9th Party Congress and was completed in 1926. It had 20 volumes (26 books) including over 1,500 works.

In order to imagine the entire complexity of the work in collecting, studying and publishing the works of V.I. Lenin, it is essential to take into account that Vladimir Ilich was compelled to be in political emigration for 15 years, and he wrote some of the works in prisons or in exile. He worked in many of the libraries of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Paris, London, Berlin, Geneva, Zurich, Cracow and other cities of Europe; he maintained a correspondence and met with a multitude of figures from the world and Russian revolutionary movement. Lenin signed his works with over 150 pseudonyms for conspiratorial purposes, and sometimes published without a signature at all.

The first edition was begun by the State Publishing House and concluded by the V.I. Lenin Institute, headed by Politburo member L.B. Kamenev by decision of the VKP(b) Central Committee. His participation in the publication of Lenin's works was covered up with the establishment of the personality cult of Stalin. But facts remain facts: it was namely under his leadership that the 2nd and 3rd editions of the Works of V.I. Lenin and a multitude of Leninist anthologies were prepared and issued. An authorized biography of Kamenev states that "As early as during the life of Vladimir Ilich and with the consent of Lenin, Kamenev began the publication of the

Collected Works of Vladimir Ilich. Vladimir Ilich transferred his personal archives to Kamenev during his illness, out of which the Institute of V.I. Lenin later grew..."

Soon after the completion of the third edition of the Works of V.I. Lenin, the quality of its preparation, especially the academic-reference apparatus, was placed in doubt and, moreover, many of its preparers were subjected to unfounded repressions. A decision was made to publish a fourth edition of the Works of V.I. Lenin. In the difficult times of the end of the 1930s and beginning of the 1940s, the Soviet people actually were without a Works of V.I. Lenin: it was exceedingly difficult to get the 2nd and 3rd editions, while the 4th edition only came out in 1946-50. It numbered some 35 volumes, five more than in the previous editions, but the academic-reference apparatus was prepared from the point of view of the personality cult of Stalin.

Many of the works of V.I. Lenin were kept covered up during this time, especially his last articles and letters, comprising the political testament of Ilich. A Lenin letter to the congress was simply not published at all. It came fully to light only after the 20th CPSU Congress.

On 8 Jan 57 the party Central Committee adopted the decree "The Publication of the Complete Collected Works of V.I. Lenin." The task was posed of collecting all of Lenin's literary legacy: works published in previous editions, in Leninist anthologies, in minutes and stenographic reports of party congresses and conferences and in periodicals, as well as works and documents that had not been published earlier.

Some 55 volumes were put out over a short period of time (eight years). Soon the 200,000-copy run of the Complete Collected Works of V.I. Lenin was completely realized. An additional 100,000-set run was published for the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich, then a second, a third and a fourth. In the end the circulation reached some 650,000-700,000 sets.

The fifth edition included about 9,000 works and documents, of which over half had not been included in previous editions. Over 1,070 works and documents were published for the first time. The multitude of works (hundreds of them) that were printed at one time in editions that had become bibliographic rarities or were published only in foreign languages, as a rule abroad, were also in actuality new for the general reader.

In noting such a feature of the fifth edition as the maximum completeness of the publication of all known documents, we should especially speak of a large group of volumes that combined material from the daily working life of Vladimir Ilich: his business letters, instructions, directives, assignments, notes, telegrams, resolutions on documents etc.

But how completely have Lenin's works been collected today? Lenin scholars frequently pose this question. We still know nothing of the fate of a series of Lenin's works. The search for Leninist documents in our country and abroad continues to this day. Hundreds of people are taking part in this work—scholars, old communists, archivists, museum and library workers, diplomats and journalists. And if you carefully peruse the last Complete Collected Works of V.I. Lenin, you will find a list that names some 912 undiscovered Leninist works and documents. Today it has been calculated that from 1879 through February of 1917, there are some 1,226 individual undiscovered documents or groups of documents connected with Lenin.

Among those as yet unfound are the second edition of the well-known Lenin work "Who the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Are Fighting the Social-Democrats," the brochure "On Strikes" and over twenty articles sent by Lenin to the editors of ZVEZDA and PRAVDA. The overwhelming portion of the undiscovered documents of V.I. Lenin are comprised of letters to party organizations, publications, the editors of newspapers and journals, relatives and comrades-in-arms in the party and the revolutionary struggle. Many of the undiscovered letters of Ilich were to N.I. Bukharin, V.V. Vorovskiy, R.S. Zemlyachko, G.Ye. Zinovyev, V.A. Karpinskiy, N.K. Krupskaya, M.M. Litvinov, S.N. Ravich, G.I. Safarov, A.I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova, M.A. Ulyanova, M.I. Ulyanova and A.G. Shlyapnikov.

Much of what has not been found is evidently irretrievably lost, but we are not losing hope for new discoveries. Documents of Lenin are found, as a rule, as a result of painstaking research work and a careful study of recollections of V.I. Lenin along with archival sources, newspapers and journals.

I refer to my own experience. Studying the newspaper of the Military Organization of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee DEREVENSKAYA BEDNOTA, which came out in 1917 in Petrograd, I turned my attention to the unsigned article "The Landowners Strike a Deal with the Cadets," which was very reminiscent of Lenin's works of that period in topic, style and manner. The last paragraph of this article had a direct indication of who the author was. The sentence "The new land project of SR Minister S.L. Maslov shows once more (see the article "The New Deception of the Peasants by the SR Party" by the same author) how the SRs have betrayed the peasants." The author of the article "The New Deception of the Peasants by the SR Party" was V.I. Lenin (vol 34, pp 428-433). Another article was thereby found that addressed village poverty on the eve of the armed October uprising. About forty documents whose authorship was substantiated through research were published in the fifth edition of the Works of V.I. Lenin.

Or another example. V.V. Lozhkin, occupied much and fruitfully with the workers' movement of the end of the 19th century, turned his attention to an archival document that contained questions on the everyday life of the

workers, their working conditions, their fight for factory leadership and the like. The researcher noted that a number of members of the St. Petersburg "Union for Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class," and I.V. Babushkin and M.A. Silvin in particular, recalled that the question of studying the working and living conditions of the workers at each plant had been posed by V.I. Lenin and that he had developed a detailed questionnaire. The document found by V.V. Lozhkin proved to be in the police dossier of the comrades-in-arms of V.I. Lenin. An expert analysis conducted at the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee showed that the text of that questionnaire had been written by V.I. Lenin.

A very good knowledge of Leninist texts, the circumstances of his life and activity and the distinctiveness of Lenin's presentation of material, stylistics and linguistic peculiarities is necessary in order to advance a hypothesis of authorship by V.I. Lenin. Weighty and irrefutable proof is essential for the ultimate resolution of the issue of authorship. There were many instances where assumptions did not withstand meticulous academic criticism and the decision was made that the work either possibly belonged to V.I. Lenin or it had been written by another author.

New Leninist material is published first and foremost in the Lenin anthologies. The 39th anthology thus printed some 264 of them, while the fortieth had over a hundred. The materials of the Lenin anthologies, a large portion of which were already included in the Complete Collected Works, reveal the creative laboratory of Vladimir Ilich and show the detailed nature and profound academic substantiation of each of his works.

In 1970, when the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin was observed, the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee began the publication of the volumes "Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Bibliographic Chronology. 1870-1924." Its twelfth and last volume came out in 1982. All of the events and facts in the life and activity of Vladimir Ilich known today to be trustworthy are recalled in strict chronological sequence, year after year, month after month, day after day and even, sometimes, precisely down to the hour and minute. Over 6,000 new Lenin documents were published here for the first time. This is an indispensable supplement to the Complete Collected Works of V.I. Lenin and the Lenin anthologies. Each fact is confirmed by academically reliable sources, either published or preserved in archives.

The Bibliographic Chronology at the same time opens up great possibilities for seeking out new materials about Vladimir Ilich and new Leninist documents. Experience proves how important it is to analyze the documents contained in a multitude of archives over and over, to reprint the memoirs and letters of the comrades-in-arms and contemporaries of Lenin, to try to find the minutes

of many sessions of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee and to study the stenographic records of party congresses and the entries of the secretaries.

Work is now being carried out on the next, 41st Lenin anthology, which, we hope, will be turned over for publication next year. A significant group of unpublished documents reflecting the multifaceted theoretical, political and organizational activity of V.I. Lenin in various periods has been selected at the Central Party Archives. They are his letters, telegrams and drafts of plans for articles and speeches. The notes and observations of Lenin on the works of other authors, a multitude of excerpts from newspapers, journals, abstracts, library notes and the like are also of great interest.

The later Lenin anthologies were appreciably enriched by the depiction of the theoretical legacy of Ilich. Today the task is to prepare a new Complete Collected Works of V.I. Lenin. Life itself impels us toward this very complex, crucial and essential work. Judge for yourself: over the almost quarter of a century since the issue of the 55-volume Collected Works, a large number of Lenin's documents have been discovered and placed into academic circulation. I would refer at the very least to the twelve volumes of the Bibliographic Chronology, the four Lenin anthologies, such noteworthy Leninist works not included in the fifth edition as the "Preparatory Materials for the Book 'The Development of Capitalism in Russia,'" "Notebook on the Agrarian Question" and "Abstract of the Correspondence of K. Marx and F. Engels." Although all of these works have been published and are accessible to the reader, they must be gathered into a unified publication. Also important is the fact that there now exists the possibility of raising the quality of academic commentary, conducting a more careful collation of texts already published with primary sources and preparing the indices to the publication that are essential for the contemporary reader. Observations have been accumulated on the text and the reference apparatus from scholars, party and soviet workers and the translators of the works of V.I. Lenin into the languages of the peoples of the USSR and other countries since the time of publication of the fifth Complete Collected Works.

The new edition of the Works of V.I. Lenin will aid the ideological work of the party and the search for ways of resolving the historical tasks of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society. The ideas of Lenin and the theoretical tenets he advanced are as acutely topical today as they were many decades ago when they were first uttered.

Readers Attack, Defend Stalin's Cult of Personality

18110009 Kiev *SILSKI VISTI* in Ukrainian 18 Sep 88 p 2

["That Horrible Cult: Reader's Responses to the Article 'Stalin in the Old House'"]

[Text]

Stalin Did Not Act Alone

Lately quite a bit is being published about the arbitrariness that reigned during the time of Stalin's Cult of Personality. Yes, Stalin was the consummate despot, but it is not only he who is responsible for terrible crimes. His "cohorts" Molotov, Zhdanov, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Voroshilov and Budonniy are no less responsible than he is. Voroshilov and Budonniy, for example, are directly responsible for the savagery committed against the Red Army command; consequently, the hands and consciences of these "prominent generals" are soaked in the blood of the innocent.

This can also be said of their "colleagues" and the innumerable serious crimes committed by them. Yet despite all this, villages and towns, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, schools and universities are named after them; their ashes to this day lie in the most honored of places next to the tomb of V.I. Lenin.

It is long past the time to rid ourselves of this blasphemy and to cleanse this sacred place of Stalinist accomplices who along with their bloody "master" committed such atrocities and led the country to such a state that we can in no way correct it even to this day.

P. Abramchuk

Settlement of Mankovka

Cherkassy Oblast

Secrecy is Inappropriate

In the last few years much is being published about the repression and destruction of innocent people under Stalin. I found out from the article "Bolshevik Pavlo Markitan" (*SILSKI VISTI* 9 September 1988) that out of the 111 members of central organs elected in 1937 by the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Ukraine, 102 were repressed. Their names and positions are now being given. Only one hangman is named, O. Khatenever, who, as a result of the P.P. Markitan affair, received a gold watch with his name inscribed on it (and who was it that gave him this watch?) and then was shot in 1953 for the atrocities he had committed.

I do not understand why all the names of those who committed atrocities like those of Khatenever's are not published. I am sure that a lot of them are on "merited retirement" and are getting substantial pensions. The question of the justification of these pensions must be resolved. These "merited pensioners" have the most severe crimes against the nation on their consciences.

Those who are directly responsible for carrying out the repression must be named; that is, who conducted the inquiries and who carried out the death sentences upon the innocent. The blame must not only be placed on

Stalin. The impression given is that someone is purposely protecting these people so that the country will not know who is directly culpable for the lawlessness. Who needs such a "secret"? If we are people with a conscience, then we do not have the right to shelter the hangmen from the people.

L. Kostyuk

City of Tlumach

Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast

Thanks to the People

I will never forget the night of 25 December 1937 when they took away my father. How hard he worked for a man of his age; he cleared 4 hectares of forest by himself. I always go to this place now as if it were a cemetery. I remember my dear mother and think: "If it hadn't been for Stalin and his accomplices, he might have been alive today." And I also think that my children, his grandsons, can be proud of their grandfather. He was a farmer, a good manager, and not an enemy of the people. Thanks go to those people who relieved the innocent of this ignominious label.

M. Andriyevska

Village of Gvizdyarnya

Zhitomir Oblast

I Also See This Shadow

Stalin's presence is not just evident in the Matviychuk's home. His shadow falls across the homes of a thousand people. For over half a century his shadow has hung over me.

In 1935 we were thrown out of our home. My father was not at home at the time because he was working in Arkhangelsk and we, my mother and four of us children, found ourselves out on the street. I was almost eight years old and I also remember how we wandered the village searching for shelter. A little old granny (many thanks to her), who lived by herself took us in. My mother somehow managed to let my father know what had happened to us and he also arrived before long. He lived with us for 5 days but on the sixth, in the evening, they came for him. We were all beside ourselves with weeping but they said to us, "he'll be back in the morning." We haven't seen him since.

Again, we found ourselves out in the middle of the street. Again we wandered, imploring people for assistance, and finally we were allowed into a cattleshed which already harbored a cow.

Our poor dear mother; why was she punished in this manner? Here we were, cold and hungry in a cattleshed and along came the news that our father was apparently in jail and a package could be taken to him. Mother somehow gathered something together and set off by foot to the jail which was 50 kilometers away. While she was on the way, my youngest sister, who was 2 years old, got sick and died soon after this. There was no need to buy a coffin; we buried her in her cradle...

I am a pensioner now, but before my eyes I still see that horror of stalinism.

N. Klymchuk

Village of Yaromirka

Gorodokskiy Rayon

Khmelnitskiy Oblast

This Is My Fate Also

Having read the article "Stalin in the Old House," I decided to write about my misfortune. Like Matviychuk, I was in prison for 10 years, from 1937 to 1947. How many times during those years did I think to myself, "How could I be an 'enemy of the people'?" I was born and lived in the village and barely finished the 4th grade; I only went to school until Christmas, because I had nothing to wear to school after that. Then I worked as an assistant to a combine operator on a kolkhoz. When they arrested me, I was almost 21 years old. Now I am 63 and have been receiving a pension for 30 of those years, because I came back from the camps an invalid.

The article about Matviychuk is right. There must be some sort of assistance legislated for those of us who were repressed though blameless, for we suffered greatly for no reason at all.

B. Varkentyn

City of Zolotonosha

Cherkassy Oblast

"You Picked the Wrong Subject!"

I read your incriminating article which pertains to none other than Josef Vissarionovich Stalin. It is incomprehensible! You picked the wrong subject! I assure you, neither the common man nor those vested with power will stand to profit by "revelations" about Stalin, because it's impossible.

You have to understand one thing, and this is that Stalin did not "turn Russia upside down" out of stupidity. He was a person possessing logic of steel, great faith and a healthy intellect. Stalin worked to one purpose only; his main goal was the welfare of the state. Those who did not

understand this or chose not to understand this, found themselves "caught in the maelstrom." Stalin's system is not very bad; on the contrary, it is absolutely good. The fact is that Stalin himself did not have enough time to see it through to its realization. The most difficult period of history fell to his lot. And his successors, especially Khrushchev, did not have the know-how to bring things to their proper conclusion.

Your article touches upon the repressions during the time of Stalin's administration. I do not know what you know about these repressions, but it concerns me. This all came to pass during my adult years; in 1937 I was already 18 years old. I'll say this though, one who did not meddle in affairs that were not his business had nothing to fear from the Black Maria. Although, there were exceptions to this rule. Personally, I was never prejudiced against the so-called "enemies of the people"; on the contrary, they always elicited sympathy in me. However, I will never believe that "they were taken away for no reason at all." There was something behind these arrests! And if there wasn't anything warranting these arrests, then informers must be brought to trial for their unjust denunciations. It cannot be any other way. Stalin is not to blame that people were being "snatched left and right." The informers and only the informers are to blame.

No less and even more blame must be placed on your fellow journalists. Who was it if not your colleagues that "raised" the public consciousness in those years and called for "squashing counterrevolutionary treachery," etc.? And now you blame the entire nation and Stalin. The academician Arbatov also touts this line in proclaiming that "we ourselves are to blame".

Remember one thing, the nation will not go down on its knees to anyone, and it will also not answer for others' sins. The nation has borne on its shoulders everything that history has meted out to it. Thanks to the people for this, to the great worker and soldier. And it is very good that it was comrade Stalin himself and not someone else who headed our state in those difficult years. Let various pharisees and buffoons assail him; they will never belie his name.

It is now clear who is deserving of these appellations. Instead of "those having grievances" searching for the truth and seeking out the truly responsible, they blame Stalin for all evils.

Let's concede that, as a sign of charity, the law on compensation for "enemies of the people" can exist. No one will dispute this. But the nation will never take the blame on itself nor ask for repentance from these people. And as far as it concerns "the innocent" and "the guilty," well, let them search, who is against it anyhow? But let them leave Stalin, the nation and socialism out of

it. Yet journalists must be held responsible; first of all, for the tune they sang in 1937, and then for the one they are singing now. They must be taught not to get ahead of "progress"!

F. Shushyn

City of Kiev

The Truth at Full Volume

The decision was made to open a nature museum in our area. I and a brigade of workmen were given the job of installing the electrical wiring. While in the oblast center researching how best to do this job, I visited the museum of atheism.

There, among other things, was a room in which instruments of torture used during the Inquisition of the Middle Ages were displayed. I looked at these terrible things with horror and involuntarily remembered what I had read about Beria, Vishinskiy and Stalin's other accomplices. Thus, I think it is absolutely necessary to continue publishing articles about these people and to tell the whole truth, especially about Zhdanov, Molotov, Kaganovich, Mekhlis, Shcherbakov and Bulganin. The reading public, especially youth, must know about the role these people played in our difficult history.

R. Ruzhylo

City of Snyatyn

Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast

They Cannot Be Forgiven

In 1938 they unexpectedly took my father away. Our family was orphaned. There was my mother and 7 of us children. And what didn't befall us!

I was already in school. In summer I was selected to go to summer camp and for this I was very happy. Quite suddenly, though, it was learned that I would not go because my father is an enemy of the people. This same thing happened after school when my contemporaries were going to Donbas for job training. But as for me, I was ostracized. And again for the same reason, because of my father.

And what a wretched life mother had; it simply cannot be expressed. She was not even granted monetary assistance as the mother of many children.

What was my father guilty of? We turned everywhere to find out the answer to this question. We got an official reply after many years. Our father had not committed any crime. He was rehabilitated posthumously.

It is difficult to relate in words our pain and our suffering. We do not attribute our fate to bad luck, but to those who inflicted such grief upon us and people like us. One of these people is alive and prospering even today. I can give his last name and address to whomever is concerned with this matter.

I entirely support the idea expressed in the article "Stalin in the Old House" that the hangmen cannot be forgiven. Each one of them must answer for his despicable deeds.

O. Lishchuk

Village of Rogachi

Ruzhynskiy Rayon

Zhitomir Oblast

From the Editor . Today we know so much about Stalin that it would seem that in no way could he be defended. But it has been demonstrated that Stalin does not lack for defenders and they are not at all disposed to levity. For them it is as if the 20th, 22nd and 27th CC CP Congresses did not exist. It is as if they had not heard of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and its resolutions. It is as if their idol has no relation at all either to the countless victims he left in his wake and, to whom we are finally preparing to erect a monument, nor to that ignominy, the reasons for which we are now attempting to understand.

Everyone has a right to his own opinion. This is something that perestroyka has bequeathed us.. However, there is no inviolate opinion, all the more so when it concerns a statesman whose name is inseparable from measureless evil and from the tragedy suffered by millions of people and whole nations.

The position of today's defenders of Stalin is clearly expressed in one of the letters which we are publishing in this collection of letters. Let's go over this letter one more time.

Stalin, writes the author, was a person of steel logic and his main goal was the welfare of the state.

The logic of the politician Stalin lies in the irrefutability of his arguments. Perhaps the Lenin Guard, which Stalin dissipated, could best speak of Stalin's "arguments". The marshals and commanders, corps commanders and division commanders, commissars and political officers, officers and soldiers who were shot right before the beginning of the war could speak of this Stalinist logic. The savagery unleashed upon them could not but have affected the fighting ability of our army, which no doubt is the main cause of our unprecedented losses in the face of attacks by Hitler's invaders. Stalin's logic led thousands and thousands of members of the creative intelligentsia, economists, workers and peasants to the grave. And all this occurred under the guise of the struggle for

the triumph of the ideal of October and for the continuation of Lenin's work. This is not logic but bloody self-will and monstrous crime before humanity and history.

Now, speaking of Stalin's solicitude for the welfare of the state.

According to the dictionary, the word welfare means "good", "happiness". It is difficult to make these meanings conform to what we know about Stalin today: his destruction of the new economic policy, his disregard of the Leninist cooperative plan, which essentially brought to naught the revolutionary slogan "Land to the Peasants," the administrative-command method of leadership which transformed the country into a gigantic barracks and the essence of which still permeates the country today, was implemented everywhere.

This is what Stalin's "welfare" means. But Stalin's opponents do not see anything negative in this. As our opponent calmly states, the person who did not see this and who could not come to terms with the lawlessness and the dictatorship found himself caught in the maelstrom; that is, he was destroyed.

Stalin's defenders take comfort from this as they do from the following explanation of the repression. It turns out, according to the affirmations of Stalinists, that Academician Vavilov, Marshal Tukhachevskiy, party activist Voznesenskiy, party activist Kuznetsov, the writer Babel, the journalist Koltsov, the theater director Kurbas, 97 of the 193 members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, and thousands and thousands of other now fully rehabilitated victims were, all the same, meddling in affairs that were not their business. In other words, their destruction in the Stalin-Yezhov-Beria torture chambers was deserved. And if this is so, then it follows that the very fact of rehabilitation is a result of shortsightedness on the part of today's legal organs and the fallibility of current policy. One can make no other assumptions.

But all the same, the facts are the facts. Whether one likes it or not, the facts must be explained. And this goes especially for those pertaining to the repression. Stalin's defenders also have the following explanation ready at hand: the informers are entirely to blame for everything, and if this does not suffice, then there are the journalists.

What can one say. The press was no exception, vociferously supporting Stalin's high-handedness, and therein lies their blame before the victims of the cult. If informers caused these victims, here is a question: who made this fruitful for them? Who rewarded them for the denunciations such as for example, Tymoshchuk the nominal instigator of the "doctors' affair"? We use the word "nominal" because it is now proven beyond doubt that the real organizers of this and other pogroms were Stalin and his entourage, their system of total distrust, terror and savagery.

Truth always overcomes falsehood and this goes for Stalin and his lackeys. No matter how bitter the truth, it must be spoken at full volume. This must be done so that we learn to recognize evil in a timely manner, so that evil does not lead to a tragedy, as it did because of the "wise and beloved one." Readers have also expressed this opinion. We will continue to publish their letters. It is not improbable that among these letters there will be those in which black will be represented as white. We will print these letters also. But we will not deny ourselves the right to express our own point of view and to defend the party line which is focused on the true, not feigned, well being of the Soviet people and on firm conviction in the irreversibility of perestroika. We have all paid too high a price for this policy to let it get derailed. This will not happen.

October 1941 Defense of Moscow, Evacuation Detailed

18300121 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15, 16 Oct 88

[Article by Lev Kolodnyy, under the rubric "Pages from the History of the Defense of Moscow": "16 October 1941"]

[15 Oct 88, p 4]

[Text] A year ago MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA told what happened in the city on 16 October 1941 when, to everyone's surprise, the doors of the subway and entrance gates of plants and factories were closed. The mass evacuation that started suddenly that night was accompanied on occasion by excesses.

It was impossible to get the situation completely under control until several days later, when a state of siege was declared and starting on the morning of 20 October order was imposed by troops of the NKVD's internal guard and other forces loyal to the newly appointed city commandant, which had been authorized to shoot on the spot not only "spies and other enemy agents" but also those whom they might consider "provocateurs."

The editors received many responses from eyewitnesses, who supplement the general picture with descriptions of unknown episodes. Some readers dispute the figures given in the article on the losses among our troops who were surrounded at Vyazma. There are also letters claiming that no disorders, panic or despair occurred. The fact is disputed that a detachment of fascist motorcycle troops appeared on the Leningrad Highway; veterans of the NKVD Division imini F. Dzerzhinskiy claim that they had been destroyed that morning on the bridge at Khimki.

Over the past year new articles pertaining to the day of 16 October have appeared in the press. All this provides grounds for returning to the subject in order to clarify,

while participants in the city's defense are alive, exactly what happened at the time in Moscow, on the most dangerous days in its history.

Let us begin with the testimony of one of the main figures in the past war—Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov, former commander of the Western Front.

He took over the duties of commander on 11 October at 18:00. He had to restore Moscow's ruptured defense line following the disaster at Vyazma, where troops of the 19th and 20th armies, the troop group of Gen Boldin of the Western Front, and troops of the 24th and 32nd armies of the Reserve Front had fallen into the "kettle". In the process, troops of the 16th Army, the headquarters of which was located beyond the fateful line, had also found themselves surrounded.

Soon after the new commander had taken the grave burden of responsibility for the fate of Moscow on his shoulders, he was telephoned by V. M. Molotov, deputy chairman of the State Defense Committee and member of General Headquarters, and threatened with being shot if he did not stop the advancement of tanks that had broken through on one section of the front.

"Don't try to frighten me. I'm not afraid of your threats. It has not yet been two days since I took over command of the front, and I have not yet fully sorted out the situation, and I do not fully know what is being done where."

"In reply," as G. K. Zhukov related, "he again raised his voice and started to speak in the same vein. How could it be that I was unable to figure things out in two days!"

"I answered that if he was capable of figuring the situation out faster than I was, let him come and take over command of the front. He threw down the phone, and I started attending to my business."

This conversation, which became known recently from the publication "Notes on the Biography of G. K. Zhukov" in VOENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, could have taken place approximately in the afternoon of 13 October.

On that day and the following days, the front withdrew closer and closer to Moscow. On the official evening report to the people on 15 October, it was said:

"In the course of the night of 14-15 October, the situation in the Western sector of the front worsened. The German fascist troops threw a large number of tanks and motorized infantry against our units, and in one section broke through our defense."

In what section? In just one?

In his well-known "Vospominaniya i razmyshleniya" [Memoirs and Reflections], Mar G. K. Zhukov notes that starting on 13 October "fierce fighting broke out in all the main strategic sectors leading to Moscow."

Kalinin, the former Tver, which had covered the route to the capital from the northwest, fell on 14 October. However, it was not this defeat that had decisive significance on subsequent events in Moscow.

Such is the testimony of Georgiy Konstantinovich, which can be found in one of his statements from the 1960s pertaining to the battle in the Mozhaysk sector, on Borodino field.

"The situation on 14 and 15 October developed to be especially difficult. The fascists managed to drive a wedge into the rear of the division. An obvious disaster was developing (editors' emphasis)."

The reference is to the division commanded by Gen V. I. Polosukhin, which was part of Gen D. D. Lelyushenko's army. The army's staff had used grenades to try to fight off the tanks that had broken through; one tank had driven up to the trench where the army commander, severely wounded in that battle, had been located.

Evidently, it was precisely in that section of the Western Front that the disaster could occur—a breakthrough by tanks, as a result of which they could "suddenly appear in Moscow." The commander had told I. V. Stalin about that danger there a week before the battle at Borodino.

Another important conversation over the direct line became known recently following the publication of "Notes on the Biography of G. K. Zhukov." Although this conversation took place long before the events of October, at a time when Georgiy Konstantinovich had achieved his first success in the war at Yelnya, this dialogue helps us better understand the reason for the events that shook Moscow on 16 October.

"...Stalin started talking about Leningrad and the Leningrad front. He assessed the situation that had developed at Leningrad at that moment as disastrous. I recall that he even used the word 'hopeless.' He said that, evidently, in a few more days Leningrad would have to be considered lost. And with the loss of Leningrad the Germans would join up with the Finns, and as a result an extremely dangerous grouping would be created there, which would threaten Moscow from the north. Having said all that, he asked me: 'What do you think we should do next?'"

"I replied with a certain amount of surprise that I was getting ready to go back to my place at the front.

"Well, and suppose you do not go back but get a new assignment?"

"Hearing that, I said that if that was the case, I would want to go command the Leningrad front.

"And if that is a hopeless cause?" he said.

"I expressed the hope that it might turn out to be not so hopeless.

"When can you go?" he asked briefly."

From that episode one can conclude that I. V. Stalin, as Supreme Commander in Chief, considered the situation existing in early September at Leningrad to be "hopeless" and had reached the conclusion that the city would have to surrender. As is known, the plants, factories and bridges of Leningrad were mined. Evacuation did not occur for the simple reason that it was prevented by the siege, the iron ring.

So this episode leads one to the thought that in mid-October I. V. Stalin assessed the situation existing at Moscow exactly the same way, i.e., as hopeless and disastrous. That is why the plants and factories were mined, and that is why a mass evacuation began of the population, plants, factories, state institutions, embassies and radio committee, whose announcers were broadcasting in the name of Moscow while being located deep in the rear.

This conclusion is confirmed by the unpublished memoirs of A. V. Khrulev, former deputy people's commissar of defense and chief of the Red Army rear, a fragment of which memoirs was made public this year.

"On the morning of 16 October Mar B. M. Shaposhnikov, chief of the General Staff, phoned me and conveyed Stalin's order to all agencies in the rear to immediately evacuate to Kuibyshev. According to that order, General Headquarters was supposed to move to Arzamas. In order to move out General Headquarters, I was ordered to immediately prepare a special train.

"Later that same day I had a conversation with Stalin, who confirmed that order.

"On 16 October the evacuation of the General Staff administrations and the military academies, as well as the embassies, the people's commissariats and other civil institutions, began. They were evacuated by rail in the direction of Gorkiy and by river and motor transport.

"The events of 16 October revealed certain of our leaders, especially A. O. Shcherbakov, secretary of the Moscow Party Committee, in a very bad light. Having found out by some way or other that we had 500,000 pairs of shoes and other property stored in the quartermaster's main warehouse, he proposed to me that I order that property to be distributed to the population. I

expressed a categorical protest against that to Shcherbakov. We were not preparing to throw ourselves on the mercy of the German troops. Hence, we should value our resources.

"However, on 17 October on the way to the People's Commissariat of Railroads, I saw people dragging large quantities of caps, gloves and other warm things. It turned out that these things were being distributed by the production artels that worked for the army, on the orders of the Moscow Party Committee.

"I immediately phoned Shcherbakov and expressed my great displeasure with these actions, to which he replied that what was being done was correct. **'But you evidently want to turn these things over to the Germans'** (editors' emphasis). This whole conversation was reported to A. I. Mikoyan, deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and the distribution of things was stopped.

"On those difficult days Beria, Malenkov and Kaganovich were vying with one another in trying to persuade Stalin to leave Moscow. Each of them wanted thereby to show that for them the chief value was his life. The last thing that interested them was the fate of Moscow itself. For a certain time Stalin apparently thought about leaving.

"Knowing the state of affairs, it was not difficult to reach the conclusion that if he, the supreme commander in chief, quit Moscow it would without a doubt be surrendered to the fascists. Such a step would have been tantamount to treason. Therefore, in the end he remained."

Judging from A. S. Shcherbakov's rejoinder, spoken in the Stalinist spirit, "but you evidently want to turn these things over to the Germans," and also from how he ordered the property that it would be impossible to evacuate to be dealt with, it is obvious that he shared the view of the "hopelessness" of Moscow's situation that had developed in General Headquarters in mid-October.

In addition to the order to which A. V. Khrulev refers, according to which the evacuation of military institutions was carried out, on 15 October the State Defense Committee adopted a decree on the evacuation of Moscow. This decree is repeatedly mentioned in documentary writings and in the memoirs of participants in the defense of Moscow. Information about it is published to this day in summary form; its essence comes down to the fact that the evacuation of the apparatus of the government, the Supreme Soviet, the people's commissariats, enterprises, diplomatic corps, etc. was to be begun promptly on 15 October. However, the complete text of the decree has not been published anywhere. Why? After all, the decree on evacuation was perfectly understandable and advisable during those days, and today it arouses no particular doubts in anyone's mind. What

sort of additional secret information, then, does it contain? About the mining of the bridges, electric power plants and other plants? But that too was a perfectly justifiable measure.

So what, then?

I posed that question to the historian Academician A. M. Samsonov, who in his well-known work on the Battle of Moscow was also unable to publish the text of the decree and only in an upcoming new edition intends to do it.

"The decree contained a point stating that Comrade Stalin was supposed to be evacuated on the following day, i.e., 16 October."

So that, it turns out, is what no one was supposed to know, either then or in all the ensuing years!

After all, for how many years before the war was it impressed on the people that where Stalin was, victory was? And suddenly a decree is passed requiring the leader himself to leave the capital of the state. Who, then, would believe that we would hold Moscow, if Stalin himself had quit his post?

Although this document was kept secret for nearly a half-century following the Battle of Moscow, immediately after it had appeared in mid-October, 1941, information on the secret point pertaining to Stalin himself was not, in our view, kept within the Kremlin walls.

It was this secret, divulged in some fashion, (along with other well-known factors) that served as an impetus for a whole series of events on 16 October and gave rise to an avalanche of rumors, panic and so forth.

This was the information that provided the impetus for the creation of episodes that ended up not just on the pages of literary works (for example, Petr Proskurin's "Imya tvoye" [Your Name]), but also in historical studies.

I have in mind the scene about how Stalin arrived on 16 October at the little known Rogozhsko-Simonovskiy Siding, where a train stood that had been readied for his evacuation. There he supposedly walked for several hours along the platform alone, agonizingly reflecting on whether he should leave Moscow, after which he decided to return to the Kremlin.

This episode is based on the recollections of former members of Stalin's guard. Thus, Maj M. Marinin told how precisely on the afternoon of 16 October he accompanied the leader, who intended to leave Moscow, while the latter, wearing a greatcoat, paced for a long time by the train that was awaiting departure. And he heard the words: "Let's return to Moscow! If I leave, Moscow will be surrendered!"

That fact, however, is refuted by another former major of state security, A. Rybin, who was guarding the train that really was standing on the Rogozhsko-Simonovskiy Siding. In a letter to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, he claims: the train had been prepared by L. M. Kaganovich, people's commissar for railroads, but I. V. Stalin did not arrive at that siding and did not walk along the platform for two hours while struggling to overcome his inner conflicts, and there was no platform as such there.

From that fact the veteran draws the conclusion: "There were no vacillations and doubts. They were not preparing to surrender Moscow to the enemy. But as for the supreme commander in chief, he did not rule out that possibility: otherwise no one would have ordered him to leave Moscow on 16 October."

Who is right, Maj M. Marinin or Maj A. Rybin? In my opinion, the latter, although it cannot be ruled out that some other train intended for Stalin had been made up. It is known for certain that on 15 October, with the onset of night, the supreme commander in chief was in a military hospital in Petrovsko-Razumovskiy, to which the wounded commander of the Bryansk Front, Gen A. I. Yeremenko, had been brought. He had managed, albeit with great losses, to lead the armies under his command out of a strategic encirclement and to avoid a disaster such as the one that had happened at Vyazma.

What sort of losses had our troops sustained at Vyazma? There is still no precise answer to that question. Whereas in previous years data were cited on losses at Kiev (about 175,000) that historians consider plainly understated, with respect to Vyazma no official figures at all have been given to this day.

Let us speak about what recently became known since it has been possible to remove several more "blank spots" in history pertaining to 16 October and the disastrous situation in which the capital found itself in October 1941. It was then that I. V. Stalin took prompt steps to destroy those who he considered his adversaries and who could have held him accountable for defeat in the war.

On the night of 15-16 October, among other people's commissariats, the sinister NKVD was evacuated from Moscow. A large group of generals, who were yearning with all their hearts to go to the front to defend the Homeland, but who were under investigation, were also moved to the Volga. They were taken to Kuibyshev and Saratov.

Some had been arrested before the beginning of the war, others during the first days of the war, when the first shots had already rung out. Among those arrested were three deputy people's commissars of defense, the people's commissar of armaments, and many other top officials of the army and defense industry. With the use of "physical methods of influence," i.e., torture, evidence had been gathered against them regarding—a plot against Stalin!

To be continued.

[16 Oct 88, p 3]

[Text] Although the front was rapidly approaching Moscow, the investigators continued to do their evil deeds. Only several of the prisoners, who had experienced all the horrors of the torture chamber, were ordered by Stalin to be released from prison; they included K. Meretskov, future marshal of the Soviet Union, and B. Vannikov, people's commissar of armaments.

All the rest continued to be subjected to interrogation, and a trial was being prepared according to the scenario of the trials that had been conducted in 1937-1938.

Lt Gen of Aviation P. Rychagov, deputy people's commissar of defense and hero of the Soviet Union, Col Gen G. Shtern, director of the air defense administration and hero of the Soviet Union, Ya. Smushkevich, deputy chief of the General Staff and twice hero of the Soviet Union, and other remarkable people who were young, brave and tempered in combat, were sent from Moscow under guard.

Following them, on 18 October, came Order no 2756/B, signed by Beria, people's commissariat of internal affairs, general commissar of state security, and chief executioner. It was an order to promptly carry out, ending the investigation and without any trial, a sentence to the SMP (i.e., the supreme measure of punishment—execution by firing squad) with regard to the 25 prisoners, including three wives, one of whom was Maj Mariya Nesterenko, a pilot and deputy commander of an aviation group who had been arrested on the airfield solely for the fact that, as the materials of the investigation stated, "as the beloved wife of Rychagov, she could not have failed to know of her husband's treasonous activities." And love provided suitable grounds for arrest and execution.

Also sent to Saratov among numerous prisoners was Academician Nikolay Ivanovich Vavilov, who died there from the extremely cruel torture.

Let us return to Moscow, where starting on 16 October events were taking place that trouble the memory of many Muscovites. Let us cite some lines from letters to the editors.

V. L. Taubin, former member of the party buro of the Security Committee:

"On the morning of 16 October we learned that the subway was not working. The director of the Security Committee and secretary of the party organization were summoned to the party raykom. We were ordered to telephone the people's commissariat and clarify the situation. I was able to reach only the switchboard. The operator informed me in an open communication: the

people's commissariat was empty, and Dmitriy Fedorovich Ustinov, the people's commissar, was on the site with his secretariat, but at the given moment he was leaving for a defense plant in the Moscow region in order to personally direct the evacuation. This was connected with agitation among the workers, who were demanding information.

"Upon returning from the raykom, the director and secretary of the party organization informed us that, in the first place, in the next few hours demolition specialists would come to our place on Bolshaya Polyanka in order to mine our enterprise, and that, in the second place, it was necessary to stop the process of loading the train, and that everyone who had not left was to be given a notice of dismissal, and that it was to be figured that everyone could get out of the city on his own.

"Toward evening the demolition specialists really did arrive. A little while later we were phoned and told that the demolition was being postponed."

"That afternoon at Bolshaya Polyanka I saw with my own eyes: shop storerooms were open and provisions were being given out for free to anyone who wanted to take them. Naturally many people, including me, took that as a sign of the imminent surrender of Moscow.

"However, we did not carry out the order to dismiss all employees and cease work, a fact of which I, a former party bureau member who made that decision, am proud. We thereby saved the collective. We were not the only ones who acted that way. But many enterprises did carry out the order, and thus in the course of several hours a number of collectives turned into what amounted to uncontrollable throngs.

"Part of our collective continued to load the train for evacuation, and part of it worked manufacturing parts for weapons.

"On the following day, the morning of 17 October, the situation started to return to normal, and transport started operating. However, we were forced to carry out the full dismissal of employees on the pretext that if a person for some reason did not have time to evacuate, or missed the train, he would have money and documents in hand.

"On those days there were rumors concerning the breakthrough of tanks on the Leningrad Highway."

These rumors reached the pages of Aleksandr Vert's well-known book "Rossiya v voyne 1941-1945" [Russia at War, 1941-1945].

"To this day people tell," he writes, referring to the events of 16 October, "that on that morning two German tanks broke through to the northwestern outskirts of Moscow, at Khimki, where they were rapidly destroyed.

Granted, so far not a single serious source has confirmed that these tanks existed other than in the imagination of certain thoroughly frightened Muscovites."

As for my previous installment, it spoke not about tanks but about a detachment of motorcycle troops who had reached the bridge at Khimki.

There is a fairly serious source of information about these motorcycle troops—former tank troops of the NKVD Division imini F. Dzerzhinskiy, including retired Col A. Mashnin. Here are excerpts from his letter to the editors:

"In order to fight fascist paratroopers, our tank unit of the division joined the maneuverable reserve on the basis of Order No 1, of 8 Aug 1941, to the troops of the Western Combat Sector. According to the order, our tank companies bore responsibility for accomplishing the objective that had been set in the sectors of the Minsk, Volokolamsk and Leningrad highways.

"In order to reach our sectors rapidly, our unit had taken up positions at Pokrovka. Trenches had been dug on the boulevards for every tank. Duty crews were stationed in the tanks, and the rest of the personnel were located in Moscow barracks, where our division's third regiment was stationed. We spent only 30-35 minutes moving from Pokrovka to the fork of the Volokolamsk and Leningrad highways at Sokol.

"I do not understand why certain sources take a subjective approach to this incident. Examples are known from the past war in which mobile units drove far forward into the depths of the defense and broke through into cities where no one expected them, where streetcars were running, theaters were showing motion films, etc.

"On the morning of 16 October Lt S. I. Bokov, communications chief (residing at Apt 9, Bldg 14, in Reutov-1), received a radio message from which it was learned that it was necessary to move out to the Kryukov region and destroy the enemy.

"After receiving the battle assignment, the second tank company under Sr Lt I. I. Strebko took off together with the motorcycle platoon of Lt F. Kozlov. The first platoon of that company was in the lead position. When that platoon approached the bridge at Khimki, it was met by motorcycle troops with sidecars. We thought they were our motorcycle troops. But when they opened fire, we realized that they were the enemy.

"Comrade V. K. Linnikov (residing at No 7, Moscow Boulevard, Apt 42, Balashikha) was driver of the lead tank, and Panin was in the command tank. That tank was first to open up machine-gun fire on the fascists. Two crews of motorcyclists were destroyed. Three motorcycles, taking the bridge foot path and using the

girders to shield themselves from the gunfire, broke through to the Dinamo Water Station, where they were destroyed by our motorcycle platoon.

"Our tank group proceeded to the assigned region.

"Where the fascist motorcycle troops came from, I do not know to this day, and I do not consider it necessary to ponder that incident.

"Seventeen tanks and a motorcycle platoon took part in the operation. At the time I was a representative of headquarters, a senior lieutenant. In order to communicate with our tank unit and the headquarters of the Western Combat Sector, I had been issued a radio unit, which was set up on the headquarters bus."

There is the sort of source that maintains the battle took place at Khimki on the morning of 16 October.

What else is written? Muscovite Z. Borisova writes:

"On the morning of that day the radio (the black plate) suddenly started talking. Without any introduction, someone reported that Moscow was in a dangerous situation and that it was therefore proposed that everyone who could do so leave the city by vehicle or foot. The only free road was the Enthusiasts Highway, and the only free railroad was the Yaroslavl. It was proposed that people obtain a two-week stipend at their jobs. And that was all. Who was speaking and on whose behalf was never known.

"I then received money and my work records. I went home in despair.

"There were many people in Stoleshnikov Lane. All of them were selling splendid books, antiques and valuables. No one was buying anything, even for a song. And candy, chocolate and cookies were being given out at the "Chinese" store on Kirov Street without ration cards. I stopped in at the post office in order to find out whether I could send a package, but there was no one there. I left Moscow on a truck that happened by on the Enthusiasts Highway, which was filled with people."

"On that same night," writes war veteran F. Kurlat, "we, the second battalion of the OMSBON [expansion unknown] Regiment, were urgently summoned to Moscow. I very well remember that day, and my archive contains a poem that I am sending you, since it accords with the truth that you are writing about for the first time. Thanks for this to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA."

16 October 1941

Black ashes obscured the sun,
Whirling in the air, settling on the pavement.
Some people, evidently, decided for themselves
That the capital's fate was already clear!
Some hastily quit their offices

And were rushing along the eastern route.
Some, deftly seizing the moment,
'Selected goods,' without a salesclerk or cashier.
But the combat patrol had been strengthened,
Tanks were being hastily repaired,
And the 'Junkers' were met at Yakimanka
With a stream of tracer bullets.
But—once again, as on the war's first day—
The rayon war commissariats were besieged.
And in response to, 'It's too early!' and 'Not fit!'
There came again the insistent, 'We must!'
The women of Moscow took heavy shovels
In hand, like rifles,
So that antitank trenches would stand
As a barrier in the enemy's path!
...Whoever lived through that bitter day,
Knows that it, too, was not in vain:
Like a piercing X-ray, it shone through everyone,
Revealing them as plain as day!

The enemy was unable to further break through the Western Front. Although the evacuation continued, on the evening of 19 October a historic meeting of the State Defense Committee was held in the deserted Kremlin.

At that time the State Defense Committee adopted a new decree on declaring a state of siege in Moscow and its adjoining regions; it was posted up throughout the entire city: on outdoor bulletin boards, fences and building walls. It was based on a different assessment of reality and, to all intents and purposes, canceled the previous decree, which was based on the idea that Moscow was in a hopeless, disastrous situation—the decree that had directed, in part, that Comrade Stalin leave the capital on the following day.

That day had been 16 October.

Works of Banned Ukrainian Historian Grushevskiy To Be Published

18000105a Moscow PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
5 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Professor V. Sarbey, doctor of historical sciences, chief of the Department of the History of Capitalism, History Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, in the column "Our Heritage": "Everyone Can Read Them"]

[Text] Are the works of M.S. Grushevskiy going to be published? What is the fate of this scholar? S. Smiritskiy,
Kiev

In the beginning of this year, the Soviet public learned with satisfaction that the works of the well-known Ukrainian historian M.S. Grushevskiy (1855-1934) are going to be available to the general reader as they were several decades ago. Today one can familiarize oneself with them at the largest scientific libraries of Kiev, Lvov, Kharkov, Odessa and other centers of the UkSSR.

The newly organized Archeographic Commission (chairman—corresponding member of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences P.S. Sokhan) attached to the UkSSR Academy of Sciences has again placed on its agenda as one of the highest priority the reissue of the works of Grushevskiy. In particular, it must be decided what concretely of the heritage of the scholar is to be reissued. Are all, for example, of the 10 volumes (in 13 books) of his chief, but narrowly specialized as to form as well as content (intended primarily for professional historians, the work "Istoriya Ukrayini—Rusi" [History of the Ukraine—Rus]? Or, individual/separate thematic entire volumes elucidating major periods of the history of the Ukraine? (Incidentally, the author himself in his lifetime acted thus for the sake of popularizing his works). For the purpose of a fairly quick satisfaction of broad interest, the publication of at least a five-volume edition would apparently be the most practical. In it there could be reissued for the first time much that is valuable from publications in different periodical publications, which became long ago a bibliographic rarity.

Of course, such an edition should be accompanied by detailed scientific commentaries reflecting the development of one or another problem in Soviet historiography, disclosing the inconsistency of these or those bourgeois-nationalist positions of the author. After all Soviet historians in no way decline a critical reception of Grushevskiy's historical conception permeated by bourgeois-nationalist ideology.

They are just as critical in regard to this political career which began in the bourgeois-liberal Ukrainian-Galician "National-Democratic Party" and continued in the "Society of Ukrainian Progressives" (Ukrainian cadets) at the time of the Tsarist State Duma and ended among the leaders of the Ukrainian S.R.'s and at the head of the bourgeois-nationalist leadership of the Ukrainian Central Council.

In 1919, at the height of the civil war, Grushevskiy went abroad and lived in Vienna. In 1924, the government of Soviet Ukraine, guided by Lenin's policy of including bourgeois specialists in socialist construction in the field of the national economy, culture and sciences, agreed to Grushevskiy's request of returning to Kiev and concentrating exclusively on scientific activity. He then was chosen as full member of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences and worked in its scientific-research institutions. After being made in 1929 an academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, he went to Moscow. In 1934, while under treatment at one of Kislovodsk's sanatoriums, Grushevskiy died.

It was pointed out in the obituary of the newspaper PRAVDA that the scientist "willingly recognized the Soviet government of the Ukraine" for "he became convinced on the experience of history that only the Soviet government was in a position to assure the social and national liberation of the Ukrainian people." Taking into consideration the services of Grushevskiy as a Ukrainian scientist the UkSSR government decreed that he be buried in Kiev. Shortly thereafter a tombstone was erected on his grave which has been preserved to the present day.

Ukrainian Historian Grushevskiy is Rehabilitated

18110006 [Editorial Report] Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian on 2 October 1988 carries on page 2 a 1400-word article concerning the changing nature of what and who is literarily acceptable these days. Among prominent figures mentioned is the late Ukrainian historian and USSR Academy of Sciences academician M.S. Grushevskiy. The article states that just a year ago the newspaper VECHIRNIY KYIEV was writing about the historian in a negative manner but presently the same paper is listing him among other top representatives of Russian and Ukrainian culture.

Believers Challenge Local, State Authorities to Return Church to Them

18000052 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 88
p 3

[Article by A. Nezhnyy under the rubric: "Learning Democracy": "A Ravaged Temple"]

[Text] In the town of Chudovo, Novgorod Oblast, on an evening in the middle of August 1988, Stanislav Pilipenok, a local priest, used an axe to free the boarded-up north door of a building, a mutilated remnant of what was once nothing less than a church. I squeezed inside and felt as though I were standing at an open grave. I froze, experiencing an awful feeling of sorrow. It would seem that over a period of many years I would have become accustomed to the sight of ravaged churches, but every time the soul is gripped by a feeling of malaise, an emotional experience completely unrelated to our being materialists or believers. Accepting blame before the desecrated holy object, feeling sorry for it as a despoiled thing of beauty and a lost memory, crying over it, we admit that we are prodigal sons of the earth, history, and culture. It was terrible to observe the damaged arches, holes in the floor, odor of mildew, broken windows and noisy excitement of the pigeons roosting above. On the altar wall I could still discern an image of The Virgin, Magi, and Christ Child, and the deeply etched word "Vasya" and several other inscriptions.

Soon there were four of us in the former church: two women from neighboring buildings had entered. One of them—Nadezhda Ivanovna Markitan—said angrily: "The smashing and boarding-up were done only recently. But before that! Drinking, doing their personal business, everything imaginable. A dump. And where?!" "My sister is a complete atheist," said Rimma Nikolaevna Ipatova, "but even she says 'Look at what they did to the church!'"

A passerby helped the priest board up the door.

Before the Revolution the people not only rebelled against autocracy; they also collected kopeks for the erection of churches, something we are recalling often in connection with the sad history of the Church of Christ the Savior. In Chudovo, at the turn of the century the kopeks donated by the town's residents went toward building a spacious dark red brick church a distance of three minutes' walk from the railroad station, in the name of the Icon of Our Lady of Kazan. In 1931 it suffered the fate of hundreds of other Orthodox churches in Russia: it was closed (but luckily not blown up), the cupolas torn down, bells smashed, icons burned, and, in the building, which was divided into two floors, a moving picture theater and rayon Osoviakhim organization set up. The church was renamed the House of Defense.

Now, looking backward, we realize that the list of crimes committed against the people by the Stalinist regime should include this one. Age-old traditions, love for holy objects, a considerable cultural and historical heritage—all this in the eyes of the major and minor idealists of Stalinist socialism was nothing more than harmful rubbish which was a hindrance on the way to a bright future. Those evil times left an abundance of this kind of examples, and we have an obligation not to forget this.

Let us return to Chudovo. In 1942, during the war, the House of Defense again became a church, in which the inhabitants of the town and of other nearby and more distant towns, settlements, and villages prayed, got married, christened their children, and held funeral services for their dead for another 20 years. In 1962 the Chudovo church once more became a hindrance to the future society.

At that time, the system did not use the hacking approach—it started to act bureaucratically, citing government decrees; it pointed to the Council for Religious Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers (which, to give it its due worth, was very eager to assist in converting churches into warehouses for barrels of all kinds); enumerated various local needs and, pretending that it had suffered lapse of memory, started to refer to the Kazan church as a "former public building." This is how the decision was made to deprive the Orthodox Christians of their church and set up the Palace of Culture. Believers had to console themselves with the presence of a chapel in the suburban village of Gudalovo that actually had long ago been converted into a warehouse.

In 1945 the Chudovo rayispolkom, acting on the authority of the Soviet Government, conveyed the church to the Orthodox community on a payment-free and perpetual basis, but, with this little bit of history wiped out, such a mere detail was later routinely ignored.

Believers attempted to stand up for their rights. They petitioned the local authorities, but to no avail; they wrote and visited Comrade Kuroyedov, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs to say simple-heartedly that "the exterior and interior of the church building look new," but this also did no good. They then gathered their courage to write a letter to Khrushchev himself, stating: "Dear Nikita Sergeyevich, we, believers, have nowhere else to write, only to you, dear Nikita Sergeyevich. We, believers, are relying on you as on a father. Do not forsake us; do not deprive us of this little bit of pleasure." The "father" did not bother to reply, and the "children" then abandoned all hope and set out to make the chapel presentable.

The reader must believe me: It is not a desire to bring up sore spots in our past that prompts me to describe the history of the Chudovo church. But it still stands as a stark reminder of cruelty and heartless bureaucracy; it

appeals to our conscience; it prays for help. What about the Palace of Culture, you may ask? A naive question. It was not a Palace of Culture that was needed in 1962—it was necessary to find an excuse to close the church. After the church was closed, the building was used as a warehouse for foodstuffs, but, as related by local residents, the stores rotted away. Later it was decided to keep furniture there, but no good came of that, either. Further efforts were abandoned and the building was allowed to stand vacant for a quarter of a century—to decay.

Without trying to offend the patriotism of the local people in any way, let me say that the town of Chudovo is an unusually sad sight. It is a fairly unhappy combination of purely rural and the worst of urban construction: concrete and brick boxes. It may be that this is what gave rise to the line in a song: "Chudovo, Chudovo, just what are you, anyway?" Although the environs are somewhat embellished by the gently-flowing Kerest River, the 18,000 inhabitants—Chudovo's population—go on living without noticing this little beauty. That is another story, however, an important story, examples of which we can unfortunately find in almost every provincial Russian town. I bring the topic up here only because, erected at the turn of the century, the temple is the most attractive edifice in Chudovo.

In spite of its external shortcomings, the Chudovo church was erected in the spirit of the same beauty which, as pointed out by AS USSR Academician D.S. Likhachev and Corresponding Member S.S. Averintsev, ten centuries ago was the decisive factor in Prince Vladimir's choice of the faith.

For militant atheists and ardent dogmatists of the 1960's, all this looked like either counterrevolution or double-dyed obscurantism, but we, who just recently celebrated the multinational event of a millennium of Christianity in Russia and who hopefully finally realize that reality does not fit into any one category—are we going to continue to look at the church with gloomy suspicion? Can it be that even today an abandoned church does not evoke a feeling of sadness? And is it not a pity when we think of all the labors the people put into its creation? For 25 years a thing of beauty is going to waste—slipping away irretrievably—before the very eyes of the whole town. Why should the Chudovo citizens—atheists and believers—not be disturbed? Why should they not express aloud their sense of outrage? Why should they not prevail upon the Soviet Government—the one they elected—to undertake restoration work without delay?

Let us be fair: There is grief, pity, and indignation, but the local management comrades seem to be acting as recipients of the heritage of the comrades who were the previous managers of life in Chudovo, expressing their indomitable desire to keep things at a standstill, if not actually taking away and closing the church. Only about five years ago any attempt made by believers to bring

attention to the poor state of repair of the church, let alone obtain it back, suffered a crushing defeat every time. Neither the USSR Constitution with its announced freedom of conscience nor ethical leanings on the part of a Chudovo rayispolkom chairman seemed to restrain the latter from sending official papers to the places of employment of religiously-inclined citizens, insisting that social action be taken against them. In addition, local officials informed some Chudovo citizens that their collecting signatures on a petition for return of the church was a gross violation of Soviet law. The Chudovo people were dumbfounded: When they acted in the same manner, visiting yards and apartments with a letter expressing outright condemnation of Reagan's aggressive policies, the authorities gave them their complete approval.

Today, however, being a town leader is not so easy. Today you cannot simply bang your fist and make threats. Today in Chudovo, the same as in every good place, there is democracy and perestroyka. Today they are told that there will be a museum in the church.

Well, a museum is a good thing. But listen to what the people have to say about that.

At Nadezhda Ivanovna Markitan's place there was a gathering of women—all old, some even very old, all believers. They were recalling where they had turned to, to whom they wrote, what replies they received. They cried. Irina Ivanovna Pyatakova went down the list: "We wrote to the Council for Religious Affairs, to Kharchev. We wrote to the Central Committee. And again to Kharchev. To the Supreme Soviet. We were visited by Shalyuk, an authorized representative from Novgorod. He said that we could write wherever we wanted, but we would never get a church. Even Kuznetsov, rayispolkom chairman, said the same: no church.

Could it be that all their bustle is in vain, their tearing rayon managers away from their work is in vain, their sending to Moscow letters signed by hundreds of residents is in vain? Why do they need it—a decaying building, when in Chudovo there is a church that is functional—the same chapel in the village of Gudalovo, now included in the town boundaries? This is so, but this tiny wooden temple becomes so packed with people, from Chudovo proper and from elsewhere (Malaya Vishera, Bolshaya Vishera, Tosno, Lyuban, Trubnikovo, Babino—for hundreds of kilometers around Orthodox Christians have nowhere to pray) that in the closeness and stuffiness people are known to faint. Also, the road going there is so poor that ambulances, firefighting vehicles (the church burned to the ground three times), and buses carrying the dead for services cannot pass. "I gave everything I had!" exclaimed Anna Ivanovna Vanchikova. "I worked for 40 years! For me it is more than an hour's walk to the church! There was a note in

IZVESTIYA relative to paving the road, but Kuznetsov told us that no, they had no money, so do it yourself. The church is small, the air is foul, but the authorized representative told us that we have enough of a place, so why bother people?!" I had feelings of pain and bitterness. This is not simply a matter of a church. The church problem merely brought out the true measure of Chudovo democracy, its true relationship to these exhausted women, to these severe and long-suffering elderly women, who while still alive deserve to have a monument erected by a grateful Motherland.

There is a fair amount of cynicism in this regard. The local authorities cannot loosen the purse strings to pay for 1.5 kilometers of asphalt, but they can collect money for a monument to the fallen of the Great Patriotic War, all the while looking askance, but significantly, at the church problem.

The truth is that the parishioners have contributed more than other enterprises and organizations of the town. They give more than anyone to the Peace Fund. It would be foolish of us to try to find the Orthodox church listed on the plaque located on the third floor of the House of Soviets showing who contributed how much to the noble matter of strengthening the peace. The kindergarten with its 50 rubles a year is listed, but the church with its 8,000 is not. "Why is that so?" I asked the rayispolkom chairman. N. Kuznetsov shrugged his shoulders: "Ask that question on the second floor." On the second floor, at the party raykom, First Secretary P. Alekseyev expressed the idea that he has no intention of offending the older generation and that some misunderstanding arose in connection with the plaque.

Thus, the difficult more or less religious procession to the church, the decaying building, the still fruitless efforts to infuse the church with living spirit all amount to one enormous and serious misunderstanding. "For 25 years they did nothing," said Pyatakova, "but now that we have become more insistent they found a use for the building. Even young people say that the church should be returned to the believers. If it is said that we do not have the money, our answer is that we can collect it!" "We will give up everything we have," said the old women with determination.

Can it be that the women exaggerated relative to the opinion held by the town's young people? Is it possible that the believers are trying to take over the church, while other people, the majority of the Chudovo population, are intent on setting up a regional studies museum? Is Irina Ivanovna Pyatakova groundless in her complaining about the present authorities, comparing them to the previous ones of the 1960's variety, who completely illegally confiscated the building and mislead the people by promising to set up the Palace of Culture?

Glasnost has not passed Chudovo by. The debating club "I and Time" has been formed. In one of its sessions there was a discussion of historical and

cultural monuments located in the rayon, and foremost on the agenda was the sad history of the old church. "We, the young people," it was stated in the local newspaper, "are also of the opinion that the church should be returned to the believers." Did the party raykom first secretary, who participated in the session, hear this? Does he know that two very young persons (presently serving in the Army) prepared something amounting to an appeal to the town residents, hoping, in my understanding, to awaken in the Chudovo people an aspiration for the democratic process? Did the congenial Petr Sergeyevich Alekseyev suffer even weak pangs of conscience as he read the poorly worded but exceedingly sincere statement: "Our church is an example of our protecting history from the infringements of bureaucrats and retrograde individuals. The church belongs to the believers! The church belongs to the town! The church belongs to everyone!"? The naive authors carried their appeal to the Komsomol raykom in an attempt to gain support. Soon afterward a typewritten sheet was sent to offices, and the following day a major visited the priest with a warning that the believers had better not participate in a demonstration on Lenin's Square. The demonstration was not held.

Finally, did Alekseyev hear what Lidiya Alekseyevna Yermolayeva, Merited Worker of Culture of the RSFSR and director of the N.A. Nekrasov House and Museum have to say? The regional studies museum is another excuse to deprive the believers of the church—that is Yermolayeva's viewpoint. The most modest estimates put the cost of restoration at 300,000 rubles. The rayon does not have that kind of money. It has other, more urgent ones: completing construction of the Palace of Culture, which has been going on for 11 years and where, incidentally, an exhibition hall can be set up; finding funds for a modern library, moving picture theater, Palace of Weddings. The streets are crying out for improvement; the lack of housing is at the critical point; there is no decent bathhouse—no end of necessities! Relative to the state of historical and cultural monuments, the less said the better. Restoration of Zvanka alone—the estate of Gavriil Romanovich Derzhavin, where he lived for 20 years and wrote most of his works—will require at least 5,000,000 rubles. "To hold onto the church, knowing full well that it will be converted into a museum, is an impossible task, a display of inhumanity and poor stewardship," said Lidiya Alekseyevna. "In my—museum worker's—opinion, it should be returned to the believers."

I asked local newspaper people the question: "Which idea is the more popular in town—the church or museum?" Lidiya Ilinichna Tsapey, assistant editor of the rayon newspaper RODINA, did not hesitate to answer: "The church."

While being careful of what he was saying and glancing at the dictaphone, Kuznetsov said: "In the rayon budget there is no money; in the oblast budget there is also little, but help was promised." "If the town already had a museum would you return the church to the believers?" "Most likely. In all likelihood. But this is an important matter, and we are obligated to consult with superior organizations." Alekseyev also made a statement: "Depending on the 1989 budget, we would return the church to the believers."

I would like to understand what is going on in the minds of these two strong 40-year old men.

Russian Orthodox Community Registrations for 1988 Noted

18000181 [Editorial Report] Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian, No 47, 19-25 November 1988 makes a 100-word response on page 8 to a reader's query of whether the Millennium of Christianity reportage has induced greater activity on the part of the church and believers. According to the newspaper, this is indeed the case, since it claims that more than 300 new orthodox communities were registered in 1988. Each of these communities purportedly has its own church. A third of these new communities are located in the RSFSR.

Belorussian Writer Espousing Nationalistic Causes Vilified, Supported

18000121 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by V. Orlov under the "Ideology, Politics and Culture" rubric: "Dialog with the Readers: The Return of Memory"]

[Text] *We received an enormous number of letters from readers which were sent to the editors following the publication of Vladimir Orlov's article, "When Kleio Blushes" ("LG," 17 February 1988). There were complete historical monographs among them; there were detailed discourses on the culture, customs and history of the Slavonic people in general, which somewhat digressed from the essence of the question; and there were more pertinent letters, expressing the readers' immediate impressions on the article, rejecting or welcoming the point of view of the author, in which the correspondents did not take pains to investigate the serious problem raised by Orlov—namely, the restoration of the "blank spots" in our country's history, and its significance to present and future generations. The responses reflect, it seems to us, not only the feelings, but also the firm, inflexible positions of people, some of whom can accept no changes whatsoever in the socio-political philosophy of our society; while others, on the other hand, have devoted considerable effort and continue to contribute to the process of renewal, which by now no one can stop. We have selected several such characteristic letters and positions, and have asked writer Vladimir Orlov to respond to them.*

V.F. Kaliberov, a CPSU member since 1940: "I am writing to you about a question which aroused surprise and disbelief in many readers, myself included. I am talking about the article by V. Orlov (of Novopolotsk), "When Kleio Blushes." This article gives rise to unhappy thoughts: the author has really let your newspaper down; he has disinformed the nationwide reader; and he has unjustly accused Belorussia, alleging a dramatic situation here with respect to the language. Orlov praises many writers without justification. And at the very same time he tears to shreds one of Belorussia's prominent scholars, History Professor A.I. Zalesskiy, and others, and the republic party press as well, for the fact that they responded objectively to publications in which serious mistakes were committed...

"I admit that at first I had intended to write about all this to the CPSU Central Committee. But then I decided to speak with you by letter. And so I am expressing my absolute disagreement here. I hope that in the future I will not be forced to appeal to the very highest authorities."

S.K. Leshchenya, a CPSU member since 1928: "I read the article by Belorussian writer Vladimir Orlov, "When Kleio Blushes" with profound disbelief. It certainly does not reflect the situation which has come to pass in

Belorussia. Unfortunately, nationalistic extremists (sic., Ed. Note) have begun to raise their heads in the republic. Among them one can definitely single out certain writers—they are using the press to foist nationalistic fabrications on the readers, and they are speaking out in the unofficial associations... The interests of our ideological life demand that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA finds a way to inform the readers how they were disinformed by Vladimir Orlov."

K.I. Domorad, senior scientific associate at the Institute of History, BSSR Academy of Sciences: "...The article by writer Vladimir Orlov, "When Kleio Blushes," appeared as a result of improper response to criticism; he wrote this article on purpose, to cast aspersions on a recognized and honored historian and scholar, from a lofty pulpit... One must also point out that Orlov's article takes up the defense of Mikol Yermolovich, who like K. Tarasov also committed serious distortions of the historical truth. In addition, Orlov depicts the matter in such a way that it is as if the writers in the republic had done more to reveal the history of Belorussia than the very scholars at the BSSR Academy of Sciences. Orlov tries to hide from the readers the politically-dangerous speeches of certain members of unofficial associations, delivered at the meetings and gatherings they have organized in Minsk.

"All this testifies to the fact that Orlov in his article has misled LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and has disinformed its readers."

V. Orlov: Scholars believe that the path to recognition of any truth goes through three stages: first one hears, "That's absurd, and besides, it smacks of sedition"; then, "There's something to it"; and finally—"Well, you see, everyone has always known that." A scientific conference of historians and writers held in Moscow last April once again established that a very unfavorable situation exists in science, which the ancients wisely called the Great Mentor. The cancellation of the history examination in secondary schools during the last academic year was a very eloquent admission of the profound crisis in historical sciences. It would seem that the truth, of which we are speaking, has already achieved the third stage in its ascent; however, that is not so. The unique feature lies in the fact that on the one hand an increasing number of not only professional historians, but also ordinary citizens, recognize the critical necessity of casting off the myths and restoring to the people the truth about the distant and the recent past; and on the other hand, the chorus of those who fully support the status quo, in our view, sounds increasingly harmonious.

Is it not lamentable, that in Belorussia this chorus is not only loud, sometimes, with the help of certain press organs, it even drowns out the voices of the proponents of perestroika in the historical sciences. And the response to my article testifies to the presence of two poles in the approach to the burning question of the state of the historical sciences, and more broadly—to historical education and self-awareness.

Let's keep in mind that the article dealt mainly with writers of literature, who write on historical topics, and their interrelationships, so to say, with the "professional servants" of Kleio.

And so, one of the poles is the remarkable unanimity of the responses of K.I. Domorad, S.K. Leshchen and V.F. Kaliberov. They not only operate on identical thought-waves; they also use exactly the same words: for example, on the fact that the author of the article "disinformed" the readers; that he "decided to give them short shrift"; that he "resorted to special attacks," and "pulled them to pieces"; that he dared to "hurl his insults from a lofty pulpit"; and so on. It was as if upon someone's command the three worthy citizens of Minsk sprang to the defense of A.I. Zaleskiy, mentioned in the article, "When Kleio Blushes," as the author of critical reviews on historical works by Belorussian literary figures. And what epithets have been bestowed upon Zaleskiy: "a prominent scholar of Belorussia," or "our respected scholar," or "a recognized and respected historian and scholar"...such that an uninformed reader might inadvertently get the impression that an attack on the prestige of the greatest specialist on the history of feudalism is altogether scandalous (and it is on this very period that Zaleskiy speaks out in his articles). But we, incidentally, managed to read not only the reviews, but also the scholarly works of our "recognized and respected historian and scholar." While refraining from estimating their worth, for it would not sound objective, I would nevertheless like to inform the readers that Doctor of Sciences A.I. Zaleskiy, in terms of his speciality, is far from being a medieval historian, but an ethnographer. All of his basic works are devoted to the way of life of the Belorussian people in the period of the Great Patriotic War and to studying the figure of J.V. Stalin in Partisan folklore.

Evidently one should also recall the fact that we have recently invented a more original method of defending those on whom the anti-perestroika forces in the social sciences in the republic place their hopes. In the 4th issue of the magazine *POLITICHESKIY SOBESEDNIK*, Professor A.M. Malashko, accusing me in passing of "completely groundless and wittingly tendentious assertions in the pages of LG" (The handwriting is familiar, is it not?), reassures the readers that, he says, "A. Zaleskiy has long since retired and has no significant influence whatsoever on the development of historical scholarship in Belorussia."

The author of the other letter to LG, V.F. Kaliberov, is convinced that "V. Orlov...has unjustly accused Belorussia, alleging a dramatic situation here with respect to the language." Not so, Comrade Kaliberov. This accusation is addressed not at our native land, but at those whom Belorussia itself, in the person of its talented and honest children, is accusing; accusing those who destroyed the finest cadres of the national intelligentsiya and the peasantry, during the years of Stalinism; those who destroyed its cultural monuments; those who have put the Belorussian language in the position of a guest in its

very own home. So, is there nothing dramatic in the present state of the native language? And what do you call the lack of Belorussian schools in the republic's cities? (Only quite recently have a number of Belorussian classes at last opened in the city schools.) What do you call it when hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Belorussians are unable to read books in their native language, or cannot make themselves understood in it even at the everyday level?

Thus far the situation is, undoubtedly, not hopeless; but it is extremely alarming. Only a simpleton could count on changing the situation in one fell swoop, as with a cavalry charge. You see, the Belorussian language needs to be returned to the kindergartens and the schools, to the VUZes and state institutions. There had been many promises about improving the instruction of the Belorussian language in the Russian schools, and here at last the BSSR Ministry of Education—which has already been abolished—distributed to the popular education departments a methodological letter on introducing this year the study of the Belorussian language in these schools; not from the 3rd grade as at present, but from the 2nd (All the same, I'd like to know why not from the 1st, as psycho-linguistics and common sense demand?). From this long-awaited letter the teachers learned with amazement that even in the 2nd grade they will begin to study the Belorussian language only in the latter half of the year—and then only for 10-15 minutes per week, after classes are over! And that's just like the popular saying, where it thundered for three days, but the rain did not even stir the dust.

History must be unforgiving, Karamzin once noted. We don't know about being unforgiving, but the muse Kleio has a good memory. Let us, with her assistance, resurrect one episode from the not-so-far-off times. In 1957 Comrade Kaliberov was editor of the Orsha rayon newspaper, and at the very same time a young teacher of Russian language and literature at one of the schools in Orsha, Vladimir Korotkevich, published a selection of his poems in the magazine *POLYMYA*—talented, sincere, and even then reflecting the thought of historical method. And how did the local newspaper react? Was it pleased? And did it congratulate its countryman, who subsequently became the pride of the Belorussian people? No. It placed the material under the primitive and characteristic heading, "Not in Step with Life." "Speaking of the horrors which might follow the use of the hydrogen bomb, the poet falls into a dark melancholy and...predicts the demise of our country," we read in that article. How much spiritual strength the still quite young poet needed then, to stand his ground and not be overcome! You see, right after this article, branding Korotkevich for his "poor quality exercises," doctors and engineers, officials of the party raykom and Komsomol, and even a certain 10th grader, gave the poet a strict dressing down in the pages of the newspaper, declaring that "Life goes on; the people will take up new tasks; but he does not see this."

The poet Yanka Sipakov wrote about the persecution of the young Korotkevich in the weekly LITERATURA I MASTATSTVA. This was related with indignation, Comrade Kaliberov, at the constituent conference of the Vitebsk Department of the Belorussian Cultural Fund.

We note, however, that among the reactions to Orlov's article, the majority were not copied down from someone's dictation and full of extraneous arguments, but were analytical, well-grounded, and consistent.

A.K. Kravtsevich: "The accents were placed very precisely in the article. The enemies of objective re-examination of obsolete and wittingly false historical conceptions are, almost all—people of that bygone epoch.

"...Too much has been placed on the chart—the historical memory of the people and the very existence of the Belorussians as an ethnic group. But the fact that there is not a single Belorussian school in a single city or urban settlement is on the conscience of these people."

V.P. Gritskevich, senior scientific fellow at the Military Medical Museum of the USSR Ministry of Defense, and an active member of the USSR Geographic Society: "For 30 years I have been occupied with the study of the history, culture and science of Belorussia, and it seems to me that I have sufficient grounds to acknowledge the complete fairness of the overwhelming majority of the positions in Orlov's article.

"It has become a truism to note that in recent years interest in history has grown. People want to understand the past in greater depth, in order to answer the questions, 'Where have we come from; who are we anyway; and where are we going?' And if they cannot find the answers in the research of the historians, then they will turn, as is happening in Belorussia, to works of literature..."

"...I would like to indicate a few more factors which, we are convinced, are slowing down the development of historical science in the BSSR, and which are having an unfavorable effect on the processes of the patriotic and international education of the workers."

"First of all, there is not one single magazine on a historical profile in the republic, which would satisfy the needs of both scholars and the broad reading public."

"That the republic lacks an archeographical commission has been stated in print more than once. Incidentally, if such a commission should be established, I am not sure, in the light of the current cadre situation, that it would not be comprised of scientific functionaries, or that it would be capable of preparing a source publication at a genuinely high scholarly level. After all, specialists on the history of Belorussia in the period of feudalism can literally be counted on one's fingers. Is that not why the editors of the magazine COMMONEST BAILERS and the newspaper ZVYAZDA would invite a specialist on

the folklore of the times of the Great Patriotic War to reviews the books of K. Tarasov, "Pamyat o Legendax" [Reminiscence on the Legends] and M. Yermolovich's essay, "Samy starazhytny" [The Most Ancient Inhabitants]? Or why a moderator for the discussion of the aforementioned essay by Yermolovich described as 'authoritative opinion,' on questions of the history of Polotsk in the 11th and 12th centuries, should be a historian who spent his whole life studying (if one judges by what he has published) the socio-economic history of the 17th and 18th centuries? You see, in our republic we have in all one qualified paleographer—Candidate of Philological Sciences Vyacheslav Antonovich Cheme-ritskiy—but the editors of ZVYAZDA preferred not to invite him."

S.I. Naumchik, correspondent for the newspaper VITSEBSKI RABOCHY: "On the one hand, we have the names Vasil Bykov, Yanka Bryl, Rygor Borodulin, and Viktor Kozko, whose works have been properly placed in the context of contemporary literature; and on the other, we have the total indifference of the absolute majority of the readers toward Belorussian literature. At one pole—the creativity of Vladimir Korotkevich, who opened the nation's eyes to its very own history; and on the other—the activity of the titled 'professional' historians..."

"But it is something else that is most disturbing. Should the article by Vladimir Orlov provide grounds for serious dialogue at the BSSR Academy of Sciences, the republic State Committee on Education, or finally at the Belorussian CP Central Committee; or should the pain and the alarm of the author be written off as 'subjective personal opinions,' as has already happened more than once?"

I.M. Chernyavskiy, an archeologist, and a department chief at the Belrestavratsiya Association: "V. Orlov is completely correct when he writes that literature has done more for returning to the Belorussians their historical memory, than the doctors and candidates from the BSSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of History. My colleagues and I consider Vladimir Korotkevich's works to be reference books, in spite of the fact that we base our study of the history of Belorussia on the archives, on historical scholarly works, and above all on materials from archaeological excavations. In recent years many prose-writers, poets and playwrights have made a headlong dash into the historical literary genre. And it is remarkable that most of them are people whom one is prone to call young."

Ya.I. Poretskiy, a docent at the Minsk GPIIYa [State Foreign Language Pedagogical Institute]: "I am neither a member of the Writer's Union, nor am I a 'respected' scholar; but, I have published several monographs on the history of literature in Belorussia. Reading the article by the young author Vladimir Orlov brought back memories of the difficulties I experienced when I was trying to convince science and press officials of the necessity for publishing ancient Belorussian texts. For more than five

years now, an anthology of Latin-language poetry of Belorussia from the 16th to the 18th centuries has been gathering dust on the shelves of the Mastatskaya Literatura Publishing House. And that is where the verses of Symon Budnyy, and the poems of Ya. Vislitskiy, N. Gussovskiy and M. Korytskiy have gone."

"My hopes have been quickened, that Orlov's article may help to thaw the ice which has held fast the initiative of the champions of perestroika in the publishing business."

"...Many Belorussian men of letters do not know that in addition to 'Pesni o zubre' [Songs of the Zubr (European Bison)], Gussovskiy wrote the poems, 'Ob Iakinfe,' [On Iakinfe (monastic name of Bichurin, 19th c. Russian statesman-historian)], 'O turetskoy voyne' [On the Turkish War], and a number of talented works, one of which—'K Sevastianu' [To Sebastian], merits the title of 'Pearl of Belorussian literature,' and was printed in LIM. Do Belorussian readers know which works Symon Budnyy is famous for—and in particular, that in 1974 the Italian scholar Firpo published a magnificent philosophical essay on this fiery advocate and free-thinker, 'O dvukh prirodakh Khrista' [On the Two Natures of Christ], which was thought to be lost? But you see, these materials have been in the hands of the editors of the magazine, the organ of the BSSR Writers' Union, and the officials of the BSSR Academy of Sciences..."

O. Trusov, candidate of historical sciences: "I have been a subscriber to LG for more than 15 years, and I've always been able to find articles in it which have not left me indifferent both as a citizen and as a specialist (history and archaeology). And I read materials connected with my native Belorussia with careful attention."

"But I enjoyed most of all the article by Vladimir Orlov, 'Kogda krasneet Kleio.' In my time I have sent two letters to our republic newspaper ZVYAZDA with regard to the articles of A. Zaleskiy, 'Tak li nuzhno pisat o drevnem Polotske?' [Should One Write Thus about Ancient Polotsk?] (ZVYAZDA, 12 July 1987); however, I did not receive a written response, and the editors replied to my last letter by telephone, to say that the discussion is over. Thus, Zaleskiy and his supporters had the last word. And then, when it seemed that the enemies of perestroika had won another victory, the article appeared in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA!"

Yu.G. Avaryanov, a historian, and **G.V. Kokunko**, a worker: "...We were deeply saddened by the fact that many people do not know Belorussian history and the language. We are Muscovites, and when we would speak to people in Belorussian, we would get a look of surprise in response. We felt it was a great pity that Old Minsk was torn down: fewer than 100 houses of historical construction were preserved... We support the idea of renovating the historical part of Minsk, and above all the Upper City. The city should also have its ancient coat of

arms restored, as well as the true appearance of its historic monuments; a museum of Belorussian art should be established; funds should be released to the people, and there should be a native language festival every year; courses of study of the Belorussian language should be organized for anyone who desires to learn; and, of course, an historical-literary magazine should be published in the Belorussian language..."

V. Orlov:

This portion of the mail says that the problems raised in my article are not simply of concern to a group of historians and extremist-literary figures (or as S.K. Leshchenya puts it, "extremists") within the republic. But how can it be otherwise? Is the preservation and development of any national culture truly not a task of nation-wide importance?

Nevertheless, in our view, a very significant part, if not the majority of the representatives of historical sciences in our republic (and only in ours?) as before orient their activities not on the truth, but on those in authority.

Reluctance to remain silent in the face of myths is in conflict with well-organized resistance. For example, the voices of historians and writers critical of the vulgarizing scheme of one of the authors of the textbook, "History of the Belorussian SSR," L. S. Abetsedarskiy, have been unsuccessful in making themselves heard in the press; whereas, in 1987, with amazing efficiency the Belarus Publishing House printed a collection of stories "Dary danaytsev" [The Gifts of the Danaid (of "Beware of Greeks bearing gifts" fame)] (Now there is a truly ambiguous title!), in which one of the "works" of Abetsedarskiy is reproduced, under the title, "In the Light of Irrefutable Facts." Doctor of Historical Sciences V.A. Poluyan, in the newspaper LITARATURA I MASTATSTVA properly noted that this work contains neither enlightenment, nor any substantive facts. L.S. Abetsedarskiy is demeaning the national dignity of Belorussians, refusing them the right of statehood as part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which incorporated the Belorussian lands. Abetsedarskiy subscribes to the interpretation of this question by Polish and Lithuanian bourgeois-nationalist historians. However, this pseudo-scientific composition was published in a lot of 10,000 copies. By the way, the very same collection of stories contains groundless attacks on the well-known historian of Belorussian literature, A.I. Maldis.

Not so long ago, V.N. Begun, who is quite well-known not only in Belorussia but beyond its borders as well, declared in the pages of the magazine POLITICHESKIY SOBESEDNIK, that the ancient Belorussian coat of arms, "The Chase," which has a history of 700 years, is no more and no less an "emblem of nationalism and servility to foreign masters." This is the coat of arms under which the Belorussian, Lithuanian, Russian and Ukrainian regiments fought with the Teutonic Knights

under Gruenwald; it is the coat of arms under which the insurrectionists of Kastus Kalinovskiy went into battle for social and national liberation.

The question, "The History of the Nation and Literature" was a fundamental issue at the last plenum of the board of the republic Writers' Union. The speeches of the literary figures and a number of historians proclaimed a concrete program of actions: publishing a "Library of Belorussian Historical Prose," founding of a historical magazine for the mass readership, the republishing of the works of repressed historians, and fundamental improvements in the teaching of national history in the schools and the VUZes... I must admit that the temptation is great to conclude these remarks on such a major note: saying that the writers and historians have at last gathered in one place, and have planned measures which they will support, and so on. However, the tone and the argumentation heard at that very plenum in the speeches of certain historians, bedecked with scholarly degrees and titles, and invested with the corresponding posts (such as, the above-mentioned Professor A.M. Malashko), are a warning that it is still too early for a victory celebration.

Nevertheless, let us be optimists. In spite of stubborn resistance, the return of our memory is continuing, and on a nation-wide scale—the most vivid example of which is the restoration of the good name of Soviet writers, and the abolition of the VKP(b) decree, "On the Magazines ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD," as a mistake. And in Belorussia: Just in the months since the publication of the article, "When Kleio Blushes," both the Muse of History and the Belorussian readership, who are striving to fill in the "blank spots" in their knowledge of the past, have had considerable cause for joy. The novels by Leonid Daynek, "Sled oborotnya" [The Tracks of the Werewolf]—about Grand Duke Vseslav Charodey of Polotsk; and by Valentin Kovtun, "Krest miloserdiya" [The Cross of Mercy]—about the very prominent poetess-revolutionary Tyotka (Eloiza

Pashkevich); the publication of the diary of Kuzma Chornogo in the magazine POLYMYA; publication in NEMAN of the documentary novel of Ernest Yalugin, "Posle nebytiya" [After Non-Existence], the center of which deals with the tragic fate of the head of the first government of Soviet Belorussia; and that of the writer Zmiter Zhilunovich (Tishka Gartnogo)—can be considered phenomena of importance not only to literature, but to the entire socio-cultural life of the republic. The magazine POLYMYA introduces the book of the well-known historian N.N. Ulashchik, "Derevnya Vitskovshchina" [The Village of the Vitskovshchina], which the author was unable to see in print in his lifetime. And the establishment last month of the Belorussian Martyrology Society, one of whose aims will be restoring the good names of all innocent victims of Stalinism, is a significant event in the social life of the republic.

The process of the return of memory cannot be stopped. It is impossible, for history is not the property of any one class, but the priceless spiritual property of the entire nation, which is more and more firmly laying claim to its legal rights.

Ukrainian Reader Propounds Multilingualism
18000144 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by A. Gunko, city of Novaya Kakhovka, Kher-son Oblast; under the rubric: "Mail"]

[Text] Not long ago at an Oblast conference I heard from one of the responsible workers that there are members of more than 100 nations and nationalities living in our republic. When I asked how many types of national schools existed in the Oblast, I got this response: "Only two, a Ukrainian one and a Russian one." Just this year a few optional Crimean-Tatar language schools were opened.

It is correct to focus attention on the development of bilingualism in every republic nowadays. But the following thought came to me: why particularly bilingualism and not multilingualism? As is known, each of our republics has been multinational for a long time now.

**Justice Minister Cautions against Personnel Cuts,
Discusses Public Gatherings**

18000125 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Aug 88 p 3

[Interview with Boris Vasilyevich Kravtsov, USSR Minister of Justice, by E. Parkhomovskiy, place and occasion not given: "Lawyers and Bureaucrats—the USSR Minister of Justice Continues the Discussion Begun by IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] [Kravtsov] The measures to reduce the size of the economic management apparatus are unquestionably correct and necessary. But the truth is always concrete. And it does not tolerate a formalistic approach. We are now greatly concerned to strengthen the foundations of the law-and-order state. And at the same time attempts are being made in the local areas to sharply reduce legal cadres. You wrote about lawyers. Do you know how many lawyers we have in the country? Only 25,500! Just last year, in its decree entitled "The Work of Organs of Justice To Provide Legal Services to the Population," the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet directed the attention of our ministry to the fact that citizens are not receiving adequate legal help from legal consultation offices because of the small number of lawyers. We are taking steps to increase this number in the belief that under conditions of the legal reform we will need at least 50,000 such specialists in the near future.

[Parkhomovskiy] I would like you to remind employees of ispolkoms once more that lawyers are not government servants, and they are paid by fees, not from budgeted appropriations.

[Kravtsov] Yes, that is certainly true, and I do not understand how employees of the soviet apparatus can fail to know that. You get the impression that in many cases they cut down "units" without looking, just to meet the control figures.

[Parkhomovskiy] You said that the reductions even reached peoples judges. Is it possible, from the standpoint of constitutional precepts, to "cut" an elected peoples judge? And in general, can a judge be counted as part of the administrative apparatus?

[Kravtsov] Absolutely not! But just before you came I was talking about this by phone with Korolev, the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics. He thinks that judges and notaries are classified in the category of administrative employees because they are employees and receive their wages from the budget. And it is hard to determine where else they can be put, in what other category.

[Parkhomovskiy] Incidentally, what income does the average notary produce for the budget in the form of state fees?

[Kravtsov] About 30,000 rubles a year. And from the budget he receives just 1,620 rubles in pay. I would like to say something more about peoples judges. Of course "reducing" them conflicts with the Constitution. Even today they have an enormous workload. And with the new economic disputes and rehabilitation cases for victims of illegal repressions this workload will increase sharply. I do not understand how responsible officials in the local areas can ignore all these factors. This practice must be firmly condemned before it is too late. Legal reform is incompatible with thoughtless reduction of the already small number of legal cadres in our country. The law-and-order state is inconceivable in combination with legal nihilism.

[Parkhomovskiy] Since we are talking about strengthening law and order in the country, I would like to ask you a few questions from our recent editorial mail. Their concern application of the USSR Supreme Soviet ukase on procedures for organizing and conducting meetings, political rallies, and street marches and demonstrations in the USSR. Most readers agree that democracy is only possible where the law is strictly followed. If someone goes beyond it, the law-enforcing organs must take a firm position. At the same time the readers have a number of questions about application of the new ukase. This mail came in after our newspaper published our comments on the ukase, so you have an opportunity to add to the thoughts you expressed there.

So, the first question concerns the procedure for giving or refusing approval to conduct such activities? Who has the right to do this? An official authorized for this by the ispolkom, or the ispolkom itself as a body?

[Kravtsov] From the text of the ukase I think it is clear that it must be done by the ispolkom as a body.

[Parkhomovskiy] Don't you think it would be wise for appeals of refusals to be reviewed by local courts? It hardly seems worthwhile to assign higher-ranking soviet organs to hear such local cases. After all, it is only a question of correct application of the law.

[Kravtsov] It is possible that experience will suggest such a form.

[Parkhomovskiy] Experience is, of course, a great teacher, but the lawmaker can save it from known mistakes which are harder to correct than to foresee. For example, let's take the example of topical rally. Doesn't it seem to you that precise criteria for what is prohibited can prevent arbitrary decisions? After all, the Law on Cooperatives envisions that any activity is allowed except what is prohibited by Soviet law. Something similar could be provided with respect to meetings and rallies. Would you as minister of justice support the promulgation of such an enactment?

[Kravtsov] Yes. I think that precise regulation in such matters is nothing but useful.

[Parkhomovskiy] After the ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on procedures for organizing and conducting meetings and so forth the Presidium published an ukase on accountability for violation of these procedures, which was summarized in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. It said there that the ukase envisions procedures for detaining offenders, preparing administrative reports of the offense, and hearing such cases by a people's judge. Will these procedures be made public?

[Kravtsov] The full text of the ukase has already been published by VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR.

[Parkhomovskiy] But that publication is directed to a very narrow group of readers, even though formally speaking it is not a closed publication. Incidentally, the basic ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet which we have already talked about was published in full in IZVESTIYA.

[Kravtsov] Unquestionably the republic press of the RSFSR should have the opportunity to publish its own republic ukase in full. I am sure that this would only be helpful.

[Parkhomovskiy] Noting that law and order are the foundations of democracy and that norms of behavior for participants in rallies and demonstrations have already been established by the new ukases, readers wonder what legal enactments regulate the actions of the militia to stop an illegal rally or demonstration.

[Kravtsov] The Statute on the Soviet Militia, which was ratified by the USSR Council of Ministers in 1973, envisions that the actions of the militia must in all cases be substantiated, just, and understood by the broad masses of working people. Each militia employee is obliged to demonstrate a high level of organization and sophistication in his work, and to be tactful and polite in dealing with citizens.

[Parkhomovskiy] You will have to agree that in application to the situation of stopping an illegal demonstration this sounds a little out of date. Aren't there any more recent normative documents?

[Kravtsov] For now there are not. But here too I think that experience will suggest the correct solution. The new situations arising in public life unquestionably will demand new laws.

[Parkhomovskiy] One more question from our mail. A chance passerby who has stopped to listen to the speakers at a rally whose legality he does not understand—is he a participant in it? Can measures be applied to him as if he were?

[Kravtsov] The criterion in this case should be as follows. If the representatives of authority have issued a loud demand to disperse and given time to do so, then the chance passerby will, of course, leave. And the one who does not carry out the order and wants to remain should be viewed as a participant in an unlawful event.

[Parkhomovskiy] In the law-and-order state everything that is subject to state regulation should be precisely defined. I would like to clarify the concept of the "rally". A group of people who are discussing political, socioeconomic, or any other problems in a public place—are they a rally? Shouldn't there be a precise definition that distinguishes a rally from people talking and exchanging ideas?

[Kravtsov] At the present time there is no such definition in the law, but I think that the distinguishing features of a rally must be speakers, slogans, appeals, and of course, large audiences.

[Parkhomovskiy] It seems to me that such a definition, or something like it, should be fixed in law. But there would have to be a clarification of what is a "large audience"; after all, the militia man who is protecting public order should have a fairly precise idea of this.

[Kravtsov] I accept your irony. It is in fact difficult to state this number exactly. The new circumstances of our sociopolitical life are posing a number of completely new and unexpected problems for us. When we prepare new laws we often see quickly that they need clarification and refinement. That happened with the Ukase on the Tax on Cooperatives, which was not ratified and then was annulled. This illustrates that we are gaining the necessary flexibility and getting rid of stagnation phenomena. We lawyers must help our society overcome these kinds of difficulties on the path to strengthening the foundations for the law-and-order state. And we must remember that democracy and anarchy are incompatible.

Latvian Procurator Addresses Citizen's Legal Concerns

*18000107 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
2 Oct 88 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Lest Questions Remain Unanswered—Epilogue to a TV Conference"]

[Excerpts] As our readers are aware, on 19 September a "TV conference" was presented on Latvian television with a simultaneous translation into Russian on Channel 3. Since the program was announced in advance, the designated participants, consisting of leaders of law enforcement and the judicial system, received a large quantity of mail, addressed to them personally as well as in care of the television station. Questions continued to be submitted by

telephone even at the time of the broadcast. Since unbeknownst to the participants the organizers of the program had invited experts to the studio, however, instead of a dialogue with the viewers as expected, a discussion between jurists developed.

LaSSR Procurator Ya. Dzenitis, feeling obligated to respond to questions submitted, asked the help of our editorial board. We invite your attention to the following questions and his replies, which will be of interest, we believe, to a wide readership.

I should like to see published the law regulating migration procedures. Seventy percent of the population should consist of native speakers perhaps. What does the procurator think?

A. Vayvod et al.,
Yekabpils.

I think the basic regulatory factors should be economic and social measures, undertaken in such a way as not to offend human dignity. According to Soviet law as well as international law, including the Helsinki Agreement to which we are signatories, people are entitled to select their places of residence for themselves. Therefore any sort of limitation upon or arbitrary determination of the percentage of indigenous members of the population and others is out of the question.

I should like to find out from the procurator, if possible by TV, whether criminal proceedings were instituted against the young people who, on 23 June, attacked persons of Lettish nationality living in Raun, as reported in the newspaper LAUKU AVIZE on 16 July 88 A. Zabrauskis, Riga.

The newspaper LAUKU AVIZE, under the rubric "Militia Chronicle," reported that on the evening of Ligo a group of motorcyclists created a disturbance of the peace in Raun by starting a fight and threatening to kill all the Letts. On 23 July, however, the paper ran an erratum, saying that the incident had occurred on 4 June.

What, in fact, happened? In the course of an investigation during criminal proceedings on 5 June, it was established that twice-convicted S. Tikhanenok, D. Yevstifeyev, and Ye. Drogomirov, who were residents of Riga, arrived in the village after 2300 and created a disturbance of public order. They responded to an appeal by one of the residents to stop this disgraceful behavior with abusive language. Thereafter, they committed various hooligan acts against people of other nationalities. When fighting broke out, they resorted to using chains they had with them. All the violators were arrested and brought to Tsis. At the conclusion of the investigation, which was delayed because of the illness of Tikhanenok, the disposition of the defendants will be up to the People's Court.

When I see leaflets in the Russian language with a picture of Letts lying in coffins, I want to ask the procurator: What is being done to put an end to this outrage, so that Letts will be equal with other citizens in their own country?

R. Arne et al.,
Riga

On 16 August a drawing was shown on the television program "Labvakar," showing a coffin bearing the inscription "Lett." The drawing was commented upon in the following way: "Is not this an instance attesting to the presence of chauvinist sentiments? The procurator, to whom we are sending this material, should take steps to find the guilty party."

In this case I was instructed to check out and resolve the matter with respect to criminal prosecution. By the way, if the TV journalists had turned over the material to us right away, the search for its authors would have been easier. In this case it arrived at the procurator's office about three weeks after being shown on TV, and only after repeated reminders on our part.

I want to emphasize, in connection with this and the preceding question, that under the law the national affiliation of a person is a matter of complete indifference—this aspect is never taken into consideration in deciding the question of criminal prosecution or in determining the penalty.

Why are Article 65 and Article 69 of the LaSSR Criminal Code, dealing with criminal liability for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and with violations of equal rights for national and ethnic groups, no longer in force?—A question in many letters.

These articles are fully in force. With reference, in particular, to Article 69, the procurator's office is currently conducting inquiries into a number of speeches made at public meetings. The possibility of strengthening penalties for crimes under this provision is being considered.

At the July plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, M. S. Gorbachev stated: "I am convinced that our people, having accumulated a vast wealth of international experience, will allow no one to encroach upon the solidarity of our Union or the fraternal friendship existing among all the nationalities of our motherland. We must also bear in mind the improvements made with respect to this issue in Soviet law; in particular, strengthening criminal liability for inciting discord among national groups and for promoting national or ethnic exclusiveness. This legislation springs directly from Article 36 of the USSR Constitution."

In the words of the CPSU Central Committee plenum resolution: "The forces opposed to restructuring, the forces stirring up nationalist and chauvinist sentiments, are resolutely to be opposed."

With respect to Article 65 of the republic Criminal Code, discussion is going on at the present time about changing its wording. I can inform you of one possible variant: "Public incitement to the overthrow or forcible change of the Soviet constitutional system is punishable by a fine of up to 2,000 rubles or imprisonment for up to 3 years. The same acts committed as repeat offenses, or resulting from a conspiracy by a group of persons, or with the use of technical resources suitable or designed for mass circulation, are punishable by a fine of up to 10,000 rubles or imprisonment of up to 7 years. Acts falling under the provisions of either the first or the second of these articles, if committed at the instigation of foreign organizations or their representatives, or if carried out with the use of materials or technical means received from such organizations, are punishable by imprisonment for a period of from 3 to 10 years." It is also proposed to insert in the Criminal Code a new article providing for a fine of up to 1,000 rubles or imprisonment up to 3 years for public incitement to high treason or terrorist acts of sabotage.

Can the deportations that occurred between 1941 and 1949 be recognized as crimes against humanity? If the answer is yes, why is it that criminal charges cannot be brought today against those directly responsible? Is not the situation analogous to that of Nazi criminals and those who commit crimes against humanity for whom the statutory period of limitations does not apply?—Many people raised this question.

I must say, first of all, that there was an article on this subject by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yu. Boyars, which appeared in PADOMYU YAYNATNE of 19 August 88. The article dealt with it in a rather detailed manner, but not in my judgment conclusively. According to the author, the only obstacle to the recognition of these acts as crimes against humanity lies in the fact that there are no legal guidelines or precedents in the Soviet Union with respect to the matter. He believes that the repressive acts committed during the period of the cult of personality may be cited as crimes against humanity, and that generally therefore the rule on limitations is not extendible in their case.

Here, it is necessary to pay attention to the following enforceable acts. Under the provisions of the USSR Supreme Court Presidium ukase, dated 4 March 65, "On the Punishment of Persons Found Guilty of Crimes Against Peace and Humanity and of Military Crimes Without Regard for When the Crime Was Committed," such criminals are subject to court trial and punishment apart from when the crime was committed. On 3 September 65 an elucidation was given by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium about the application of this ukase which made it clear that these conditions may be extended to cover Soviet citizens who during the period of the Great War of the Fatherland from 1941 to 1945 carried out punitive activities, personally participating in the murder and torture of the Soviet people. It is common knowledge, however, that deportations

occurred even after the War of the Fatherland; so that, in order to equate these with crimes against humanity, a special enforceable act is needed, which only the highest organs of power in the USSR are authorized to establish. Proposals for this have been prepared by the procurator's office and submitted to the republic leadership.

With regard to those responsible for repressive acts at the time of the cult of personality under Stalin, it is not within the purview of the procurator's office to investigate them. It would appear to be necessary to establish special bodies for this purpose. In our view these people should be exposed and stripped of undeserved decorations and honors.

In concluding these questions and answers, let me inform readers that the republic procurator's office is presently engaged in doing a considerable amount of work for the rehabilitation of citizens unlawfully subjected to acts of repression in 1941 and deported in 1949. These activities will be dealt with more fully in a report to be released from our office.

RSFSR Justice Official Examines Role of Legal Cooperatives

18000117 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, in Russian 7 Sep 88 p 2

[Interview with Vsevolod Pavlovich Popkov, chief of the legal profession department of the RSFSR Ministry of Justice by V. Kuznetsov]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] Vsevolod Pavlovich, on May 26 1988 the USSR Supreme Soviet passed the law "On cooperation in the USSR". It took effect beginning 1 July. Do we need "juridical" cooperatives? And how will their activity conform with the existing legislation?

[Popkov] In accordance with article 161 of the USSR Constitution collegiums of lawyers exist to provide legal assistance to citizens and organizations. They exist throughout the country. These collegiums of lawyers have established 2,300 legal offices in the Russian Federation alone. There are more than 13,000 legal assistance points in enterprises, establishments and organizations and on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Lawyers annually handle more than seven million different assignments from citizens. New forms and types of legal assistance are increasing at rapid rates: providing it over the telephone and at home, representation by power of attorney in different establishments. These colleges of advocates have established 2,300 legal offices in the Russian Federation alone. There are more than 13,000 legal assistance points in enterprises, establishments and organizations and on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Lawyers annually handle more than seven million different assignments from citizens. New forms and types of legal assistance are increasing at rapid rates: providing it over the telephone and at home, representation by power of attorney in different establishments, etc. The number of these commissions has increased by 72 percent during

the year. During the current year alone, RSFSR preliminary investigation agencies and courts complied with more than 120,000 requests from lawyers about the complete or partial acquittal of their clients, the discontinuance of criminal proceedings, the return of cases for additional investigation, and the reclassification of the charge. The efficient and highly qualified lawyer councils saved many people unnecessary trips to court and helped them to realize their rights and legal interests by the shortest route.

Nevertheless, one must admit that citizens far from always receive the necessary help rapidly from a lawyer. There are no legal offices at all in some rayons. Only one lawyer works in more than 700 offices and when he is on vacation or working elsewhere, people are often compelled to turn to the legal office in neighboring rayons. The colleges of lawyers are not fully satisfying the requests of different organizations and establishments for the provision of legal assistance. The restructuring of the work of many colleges of lawyers, which is aimed at the maximum satisfaction of the growing needs of the population and organizations, is still being carried out slowly. That is why I share the position of those jurists who think that cooperatives will help to improve legal assistance for the population and organizations. They will create competition for the colleges of lawyers and economically force them to work more energetically, fight for each client, and raise the quality of services and service standards. Yes, there is a need for cooperatives to provide legal assistance; however, I nevertheless have doubts.

[Kuznetsov] What are they? Why?

[Popkov] These cooperatives have been established in Kalinin and Kirov oblasts, Moscow, and several other places. They have only just begun their work but complaints, unfortunately, are already arriving about them: The price of their services is high and the quality of the consultations is low.

Here are examples. One member of a cooperative in Moscow draws up a complaint like an investigation of a criminal case. He takes approximately 100 rubles from his client for this. However, he sends it not to the Supreme Court, as it should be, but to the Ministry of Justice whose jurisdiction does not include the resolving of such complaints.

Another, instead of bringing suit to recover damages caused by an automobile accident, wrote an application to the RSFSR Procurator's Office, requesting criminal proceedings be instituted against ... all investigators engaged in investigating that automobile accident. It is no accident that citizens, who have turned first to cooperatives for help, were later forced to go to a lawyer. There is more harm than benefit from such legal assistance by cooperatives.

[Kuznetsov] Who can be a member of a cooperative providing legal services? What requirements should be imposed on him?

[Popkov] The law has no direct answers to these questions. However, legal assistance is a special type of service. The RSFSR Statute on the Legal Profession stipulates that just not any citizen having a higher legal education and a certain amount of experience in this specialty can be a lawyer; he "must also be a model of moral purity and unimpeachable conduct" and promote the realization of justice. A lawyer is required to improve his knowledge continuously and to raise the ideological and political level of his work qualifications.

It is evident that less strict requirements should not be imposed on members of cooperatives during the approval of the regulations. Otherwise, persons, who have compromised themselves by violations of the law in their previous work in the legal profession, courts, procurator's office, or police and who have previously been found guilty of bribery, fraud and other crimes, could join cooperatives providing legal services. It is necessary to point out that here and there persons, who should not approach the providing of legal assistance even closely, are already trying to establish cooperatives in order to join them as members. A serious problem is also arising with respect to the training of members of cooperatives providing legal services.

[Kuznetsov] What is the opinion of the legal profession department on this question? On which body should the systematic direction of cooperatives be placed?

[Popkov] I think that the colleges of lawyers can provide this assistance to the cooperatives. However, of course, it is impossible to impose systematic direction of the cooperatives in a compulsory manner on the colleges of lawyers. These are voluntary associations of persons engaged in barrister work and operate under conditions very similar to the cooperatives. The legal profession can provide methodological help to cooperatives on a contract basis for a certain fee.

Such work experience with the participation of a college of lawyers already exists in Kuybyshev Oblast. The regulation of the cooperative defines those types of services which the population especially needs and which the college of lawyers cannot satisfy in the required amount because of its work overload. According to the contract and based on mutually beneficial principles, the college of lawyers will train the cooperative members, supply literature, and inform them about changes in legislation in a timely fashion.

[Kuznetsov] The decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference raised very sharply the question of universal compulsory legal education. What role should be allotted to cooperatives in the carrying out of this decision?

[Popkov] At the present time, lawyers annually deliver 200,000 lectures in the RSFSR alone. All of these are free. It seems that the members of legal cooperatives should also perform this work actively and without charge. Perhaps it is necessary to express this thought in the regulations of the cooperatives.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the providing of legal assistance is a special type of service requiring efficient regulation and it is evident that the procedures for the activity of these cooperatives should be defined, the conditions for their formation and the requirements imposed on those becoming members of cooperatives should be firmed up, and the types of legal assistance provided to citizens and organizations and the responsibility for low quality work should be made more specific in accordance with Article 54 of the Law on Cooperatives in the USSR.

From the Editors:

Important questions were raised in the interview. However, judging from letters, the readers would like to see legal cooperative members possess broader authority. The proposals about a "private lawyer" who could represent and defend the interests of a citizen not only in court and during the investigation of a case by law enforcement agencies but also during the resolving of normal everyday matters, deserve attention. This includes labor disputes and questions concerning family and marital relations and housing legislation.

Youth Gang Warfare, 'Mafia-Type' Youth Gangs Described

18000089 Moscow *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* in Russian 12 Oct 88 p 13

[Article by Yuriy Shchekochikhin, under the rubric "Meeting Recorded in Shorthand": "Extreme Model"; first paragraph is unattributed source introduction]

[Text] In a number of the country's cities, war is breaking out among youth gangs. Scholars and practitioners gathered in the editorial offices to discuss the existing situation.

Kazan, Kazan, Kazan, Kazan—Never before have people turned so frequently as they are now to events taking place in the capital of Tataria. A week does not pass but what reports appear somewhere on the unceasing clashes among youth gangs there. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, OGONYEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, Central Television, local and Moscow documentary films. And discussions, discussions.

And every report is like a battlefield report.

Not long before our meeting in the editorial offices, I telephoned KOMSOMOLET'S TATARII to find out the latest news from my colleagues. Svetlana Beschelnova, a correspondent for the newspaper, dictated:

"A young man was accompanying his girlfriend home. While he was on his way back he was attacked by the gang that 'oversees' that street. The boy died without ever regaining consciousness.

"Another case. Two gangs were sorting out their relations by taking turns making raids on each other's territory. A deaf and dumb boy turned up. The outcome of the encounter was tragic. And several weeks ago in Kirovskiy Rayon teenagers killed a militia officer.

"More and more examples could be cited. But Kazan residents, alas, have already grown accustomed to such things.

"The following, however, shocked the city's public: The 'thieves' (another term for gang members) declared their intention to control the city's life. To this end they concluded a temporary truce. They proclaimed a so-called month of love—a cruel diversion of young people under the slogan, 'Let's make Kazan a city without little girls.' The streets were empty at night. In the schools, even in the lower grades, teachers strongly advised people to meet their daughters after school. That was in the spring. The militia stepped up its work (units from other rayons of the republic were enlisted). And one must give them their due: relative order managed to be maintained in the city. At least (in the words of militia officers), the number of cases of assault did not exceed the 'statistical average.' But, despite the preventive measures, the situation may heat up at any moment."

Our colleagues' report has—and this is natural—emotional overtones. And here is a dry report by the USSR Procurator's Office:

"In 1986-1987, 181 acts of group disturbance of the public order, including 51 group fights, in which more than 900 people participated, were committed in Kazan. Six persons died, 73 were hospitalized with serious wounds, and 193 received bodily injuries. Since last fall the situation has sharply deteriorated. Knives, heavy metal balls, pieces of concrete reinforcing bars, brass knuckles and homemade explosive devices have started to be used in the fights. As a result, in the first four months of this year six young people have already been killed in fights, which is as many as in the two previous years."

Yes. What chain have Kazan young people broken loose from? What is the solution to the "Kazan phenomenon" (I quote a Moscow colleague)?

Alas, probably the same as the solution to the other "phenomena."

Another Volga region city. A report to LITERATUR-NAYA GAZETA from ULYANOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS correspondent V. Martsinkevich:

"In the past three years three teenagers have died in street fights in Ulyanovsk. The last case was 14 October of last year, when 17-year-old Oleg V. was fatally wounded in Molodezhnyy Park by a shot from a sawed-off gun. Another two youngsters received wounds of varying degrees of severity. If you take into account the fact that a week before that incident a wave of teenagers armed with sticks, chains and brass knuckles swept from one end of the city to another beating up everyone in their path, the peak of tension among Ulyanovsk's young people unquestionably came last October. At the present time, the situation in the city as a whole has been normalized (what will happen in the fall, I don't know!), but nonetheless there are 27 youth gangs that are active in the city. Four or five of them are strikingly aggressive in nature. The gangs call themselves the Bakers, the Hurons, the Eagles, the Officers, the Gray Wolves, the Sheds, the Pentagon, etc. The last major clash between gangs occurred this 1-2 May in the aforementioned Molodezhnyy Park. Two gangs started a fight in a struggle for influence, a homemade device was exploded, and one teenager was wounded. 27 youngsters were brought in to the militia."

Yet another troubled spot in the Volga region is Yoshkar-Ola, capital of the Mari ASSR. D. Davydov, a correspondent for the newspaper MOLODOY KOMMUNIST, told about what was happening there:

"Chronicle of the biggest clashes among young people for this year.

"8 March in the House of Culture imeni 30th Anniversary of the Victory, a fight started in the discotheque between teenagers from Subdivisions No. I, II and III ('Little Mirage') and the Sambatkhey Subdivision. In the course of several minutes the disturbances were quieted and 16 army belts were confiscated.

"14 March, a major fight took place between the same subdivisions. Militia officers were forced to fire a warning shot into the air. 40 belts and chains were confiscated.

"27 March. Up to 200 teenagers took part in a fight.

"29 May, the City Day festival. About 100 persons from 'Little Mirage' gathered outside the drama theater. At 8:40 pm another group of teenagers, from the Sambatkhey, Semenovka and Remzavod subdivisions, approached. Officers of the rayon internal affairs department managed to prevent a clash.

"Despite the fact that sticks, chains and army belts are used in the mass fights, no bodily wounds to anyone are

officially registered, since the victims, out of fear of revenge, never give the names of those who have beaten them.

"The site of fights is usually the center of the city. Warning signals come in to the effect that a collection of money is taking place among teenagers 'for prison,' i.e., for financial support of friends who have been convicted."

What was it that was happening in the cities of the Volga region? Surely you can't attribute all the incidents to the enigmatic influence of the great Russian river?

But, for example, the city of Vorkuta is not near the Volga. And there the same thing has happened as in Kazan, Ulyanovsk and Yoshkar-Ola.

In the newspaper MOLODEZH SEVERA (publication of the Komi Komsomol Oblast Committee), I read a very detailed study of the Vorkuta situation by the newspaper's correspondent I. Ivanov. Several excerpts from the article:

"13 December, 7:00 pm. In the vicinity of the Railroad Workers' House of Culture militia details broke up a fight between young people from the city and the settlement of Severnyy. About 200 people took part. They did not disperse when the militia cars appeared (as had happened previously), and when the instigators were detained, others tore them from the militia's hands. They then marched on the militia in an organized 'wall.'...The problem of fighting among Vorkuta young people has spilled beyond the borders of Vorkuta, and the splashes have already spread throughout the whole country: to this day many people remember the tour, two years ago, of 250 Vorkuta young people through Russian cities (Vorkuta, Syktyvkar, Moscow, Tula, Sochi, Riga, Leningrad)."

One more address, far from both the Volga and Vorkuta: Dzhezkazgan, Kazakh SSR. There a fight involving firearms took place this 20 April. As a result, five teenagers were wounded. And another address: Morshansk, Tambov Oblast. Early this summer teenagers made an attack on the rayon militia department. And other addresses: Dzerzhinsk, Gorkiy Oblast; Leninsk-Kuznetskiy, Kemerovo Oblast; Komsomolsk-on-Amur, Khabarovsk Kray. And finally, Moscow. There, a 10-minute drive from our editorial offices, on the Arbat, two teenage gangs—a Moscow gang and a suburban Moscow gang—clashed. The intervention of the militia resulted in the fact that the warring gangs, joining together, blockaded the Fifth Militia Division, where several young hooligans had been taken. Students from the higher militia school were deployed to break up the crowd. Not until 5:00 am was order restored.

There is the map (most likely, it is incomplete and approximate) of youth incidents in the country. And

therefore Kazan, a city that is presently on everyone's lips, is no special "phenomenon." It is just that more public attention has been drawn to it than to any other city thanks to numerous articles in the press. But the phenomenon we have encountered today is far broader than narrow regional limits (it is simply our old habit to console ourselves with the notion that the worst is "somewhere over there, far away from us"). Kazan, however, is the most thoroughly studied, extreme model of a phenomenon confronting society today. The essence of that phenomenon is the subject of our discussion, which was conducted by scholars and practitioners, gathered in the editorial offices, who have studied the Kazan situation precisely as a model.

1. Who Are They, These "Naughty Street Children"?

Why has the development of events gone so far? After all, this is not the first month, or the first year, that reports of fights among youth gangs have alarmed us.

G. F. Polozov, state counselor of justice, third class, and chief of the department for oversight over the observance of laws concerning juveniles, believes that the basic cause of the belated public reaction is the fact that these fights were considered ordinary "boys' mischief."

"Why, let's say, did the Kazan authorities botch the situation? Because they took the fights—bloody fights, I stress—as some kind of spirited amusement of the sort for which Rus has supposedly long been 'famous.' Just think of it, they got in a fight! Today they got in a fight, tomorrow they'll make peace! Who knows what gets into those boys' heads?"

"That is," I try to clarify, "fights were written off to spontaneous teenage behavior, with which it is somehow awkward to fight? Just as it would be, say, to fight the sea? Where it will splash out today, who knows?"

Well-organized gangs were taken for bunches of "difficult teenagers" who were wandering around the streets in the evenings out of nothing to do. Candidate of Historical Sciences K. G. Myalo, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute for the International Workers' Movement, which conducted a series of studies in Kazan, tells about their organizational system.

"Three or four apartment buildings form a 'box'—an analogue of the courtyards that are now a thing of the past; the 'boxes' join together into a 'group', and 'groups of boxes' become the Officers, Pentagons and Gray Wolves, i.e., the youth organizations of which each has its own territory that it controls, a rigid structure, and a general leader or group of leaders."

I ask what the age is of the youngsters who belong to the gangs.

K. G. Myalo notes the alarming tendency for the age boundaries to expand:

"Usually these teenage teams include, as a rule, youngsters from ages 14 to 18. But today the lower limit is getting lower and lower: I do not know about little children from kindergarten, but children starting at ages seven and eight are falling right under the influence of gangs, forming (according to Kazan slang), 'pods,' 'shells' and 'peas.' But the upper age limit is also rising. Previously, let's recall, hopes were placed in the army; it was said that a youngster would come home grown wiser. But today, judging from Kazan, a young person who has come back from the army once again gets involved in gang life. He already may get married, and he may have children, but if they come up to him and say, 'We need you!' he will join 'the business.' Therefore, nowadays a 30-year-old gang member is no anomaly. That is, the gang is an organization that a person joins for life. This sort of new trend seems to me the most dangerous today."

But it is not just by adding the "pods" and young returnees from the Army that the gangs are expanding (in Kazan, according to K. G. Myalo's figures, the annual increase amounts to 2,000-3,000). Their territorial control, so to speak, is also increasing. Here is the view of Militia Maj. Ye. G. Baal, docent at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' Academy:

"Previously a teenager who did not belong to a gang might feel safe, if not in his own 'box,' in school or vocational-technical school. But today there are signs of a new trend—a gang assumes control over all the young people's social institutions located on its territory: schools, vocational-technical schools, technicums. The cruel life of the streets is now continuing within the walls of educational institutions."

I ask: Suppose a teenager refuses to be "controlled"?

"He has only two ways out," believes Ye. G. Baal. "Either join a gang or be ready to be terrorized by his peers."

And he tells about a Kazan ninth-grader who, for refusing to join a gang, had to go through a series of humiliations: every member of the gang (and there were more than 100) struck him a blow, i.e., he passed "through the ranks" (let's recall examples from the booklets!). The ninth-grader—one has to give him credit—withstood all these trials. But such a case cannot be called typical.

"There is, to be sure, another way to get yourself left alone."

"What?" I ask Ye. G. Baal.

"To buy oneself off, to buy one's freedom."

"and how much does a teenager's freedom cost?"

"The average is 250 rubles. For a 15- or 16-year-old, you will agree, that's a considerable sum."

Stop! That is, today's 'pranks' have been brought up to day with money? Haven't we come to the main thing in our discussion, the financial basis of the gangs?

O. F. Gurovanov, instructor at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs' All-Union Correspondence School, having studied the value categories existing in the gangs, believes that the ability to make money is not last in importance. That is why the youngsters from the bottom of the hierarchical ladder, in order to gain weight in the leaders' eyes, start to commit property crimes: thefts, robberies, cons, etc.

But most of the gangs' funds come from elsewhere.

"Extortion!" claims K. G. Myalo. "In Kazan, say, it begins with little kids, at 20-30 kopecks each, and the sums keep growing as the youngsters enter each successive age group. The money goes to help those who have landed in the 'zone,' i.e., in the 'joint,' as they say, or to those who have been wounded in a fight. Special collections for funerals are becoming increasingly popular.

Ye. G. Baal adds:

"Collections of money started to be talked about seriously after several funerals for teenagers who had died in fights. These funerals are usually very lavish, with a lot of wreaths and a huge crowd of youngsters. At one recent funeral the leader of a gang drove up in a new Lada and right in front of everyone gave the dead boy's mother a thick bundle of money. That proved very impressive: You see, we think about you while you're alive, and we don't forget about you after you die, either."

In K. G. Myalo's opinion, the amount of extortion in Kazan comes to an average of a million rubles a year!

Isn't that why every gang has a stake in expanding the territory it controls? Isn't that where one must seek the causes of the incessant fights for spheres of influence?

"If you trace the movement of that money," says K. G. Myalo, "I'm convinced that we will see that most of it stays in the gang leaders' hands. After all, most of the leaders live plainly beyond their means. And that is why the more powerful the gang is, the more free-and-easy its leader's lifestyle."

G. F. Polozov adds that according to the information of the USSR Procuracy, the Kazan leaders are, to a considerable extent, criminal elements and not teenagers at all. For them the teenagers are only the fighters they use to attain their goals.

"That is," I conjecture, "it's possible to have a situation in which teenagers from different gangs are fighting, while the gang leaders themselves are sitting down together at the table?"

O. F. Gurovanov is convinced that that sort of thing is what usually happens:

"Fights occur at the level of the 'pods,' or the 16-year-old 'supers,' or the 18-year-old 'young ones.' The leaders don't fight! That's why we more and more often encounter fights that are not spontaneous but scheduled. The leaders must keep their subordinates in a state of constant tension. And it often happens that the youngsters themselves do not know why they have been sent out 'under the gun.' They fight without suspecting that their victory is bringing their leader material benefits: the more territory they win, the greater the tribute he collects."

Ye. G. Baal agrees with that:

"It is impossible to completely rule out spontaneity in fights: someone doesn't like someone else, or someone gives someone else the wrong sort of look. It is a hot-tempered, explosive age. But our research shows that the Kazan fights (let me remind you that Kazan is just a model; the situation in other hot spots is similar!) are directed, with previously named dates and places. One must not overlook the fact that some of the gangs are armed. They even have their own storage spots where gang members bring their weapons: bricks, iron bars, or pieces of concrete reinforcing rods."

That is, a gang cannot in any way be called a bunch of "difficult teenagers."

So what are they? Let us draw some initial conclusions.

Here is the opinion of Candidate of Juridical Sciences Ye. N. Savinkova (at the USSR Procuracy's Institute for the Problems of Strengthening Legality and the Legal Justice System):

"The gangs we are talking about today are a fundamentally new phenomenon. In the first place, they cannot be compared with leisure-time interest-based associations."

"With the 'informals'?" I ask for a clarification.

"This phenomenon has absolutely nothing to do with the 'informals'!"

I specially asked Yelena Nikolayevna to clarify whether one could or could not call the Gray Wolves an "informal" group. After all, it is the teenage informal groups—the heavy-metal fans, the punks, the hippies and the fanatics—that have been the object of public attention; arguments and conjectures have sprung up about them; and they have received close and usually biased attention from the militia, which has used the

long-haired or brightly adorned teenagers to hone their ability to combat so-called "irregular public situations." And what has happened? In the meanwhile, associations of an entirely different type were forming, growing cohesive and developing. Associations that have already become a serious social phenomenon today and that represent a danger to the public order incomparable greater than the teenagers who wear jingle bells on their pants.

"The gangs," stresses Ye. N. Savinkova, "really are organizations. They have a stable structure, continuously reproduced relations, and a rigid system of subordination. The gangs' goals are set by the top hierarchical stratum, which in the vast majority—and here I agree with G. F. Polozov—consists of criminal elements."

That is, the youngsters have become pawns in someone's capable hands?

so what sort of social processes have given rise to the new phenomenon in the youth milieu? To whom are they advantageous today? Who, so to speak, is calling the tune?

2. Where Have They Come From?

I admit, we were not very surprised by K. G. Myalo's conclusion:

"The youth gang is a typically medieval social structure." And she explained: "We are accustomed to looking at everything that takes place in our country as something belonging exclusively and solely to us. But I would like to call attention to analogues from the past, and to what has repeatedly been observed in history."

"Haven't we strayed too far from the topic of conversation?" one of the meeting's participants interrupted K. G. Myalo.

"But let's analyze things! After all, all these youth gangs are nondemocratic structures. Even their names reflect an attraction to the bestial and animal! The gang structure itself is profoundly archaic: power in them flows only up from below, but never down from above! There are those who collect money, and there are those who pay tribute."

"The gangs," says Ye. G. Baal, also calling our attention to the experience of the past, "are a phenomenon of the militant street, which was observed in our country in the 1920s, and afterwards in periods of strong social changes, and which has periodically manifested itself through isolated outbreaks of vandalism and cruelty and serious crimes in a number of our country's cities."

But O. F. Gurovanov, who has studied the value categories accepted in gangs, has reached a conclusion that he himself admitted is surprising:

"These values are: a cult of cruelty (even after they have killed a person, the youngsters do not hide that fact but, to the contrary, boast of it to their peers!); a cult of power; the prestige of the 'zone'; and, as I have already said, the ability to make money by dishonest means, so to speak—all of this I have compared with the values that exist in the criminal world."

"And so?"

"They are identical! That is, the traditions of the basic criminal world have penetrated society (let us once again recall the era of stagnation with the degradation of moral criteria!), and it is precisely the young people who have started to generate these criminal traditions in their milieu."

"I agree!" says Ye. G. Baal. "Today serious crimes committed out of selfish motives are rising in the gangs, the skills of new forms of criminal activities are being mastered (cons, extortion, gambling, black marketeering), and gang members are being trained in the skills of the guaranteed alibi, conspiracy, and hand-to-hand combat. That is, we are dealing with a formation of a specific subculture, which incorporates the theory of the strong individual, belief in the omnipotence of group brotherhood, criminal romance, its own unwritten moral code, and a negative attitude toward formal young structures."

"That is," I ask, "what we are dealing with is a youth detachment of the mafia?"

Ye. G. Baal:

"I would not venture to call the youth gangs professional criminal organizations, but the leaders of some gangs are already making alliances with criminal thieves, speculators and black marketeers."

"So a link with the mafia is possible, all the same?" I ask.

"We have with us here Aleksandr Ivanovich Gurov (familiar to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers for his article "Lev Jumped"—Yu. Shch.). Maybe he will be able to analyze the ties between the gangs and organized crime in greater detail. But it seems to me personally that what we are encountering first and foremost is the collective aggressiveness of young people in response to social problems that they find themselves facing. But, I repeat, a situation in which strong personalities from the criminal world can attempt to use youth gangs for their purposes is not ruled out."

"They are already using them!" asserts O. F. Gurovanov. "People from the top criminal clans stand over the gangs, and they are so strong that the leader of even the strongest youth gang, who can raise several hundred teenagers to arms, would never disobey a representative of the 'higher league.'"

So are there ties between the mafia and the youth gangs, or not?

Here is the opinion of Militia Col. A. I. Gurov, (of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Research Institute):

"Let us first analyze the gangs in and of themselves. What are they based on? My colleagues have correctly stated: on criminal traditions. In the youth movement, as far as I know (and here references to the past have not persuaded me at all!), such a thing has never existed before. Granted, there have been isolated elements of romanticizing the criminal world: 'his hat askew and a gold tooth,' etc. But there has never before been the complete copying that there is today! So why are today's modern, educated young people starting to create organizations based precisely on criminal models? I think that the reason must be sought in the existence of a stable organized crime in the country that is extending its traditions to young people. And the cause of the phenomenon that we are analyzing today lies in the prolonged hushing up of organized and professional crime, which in the meantime started to reproduce itself in the youth milieu."

But A. I. Gurov's colleague, Militia Maj. V. S. Ovchinskiy, head of a department at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' Research Institute, sees the cause of the spread of the "Kazan phenomenon" in the country in the general growth in teenage crime:

"In the past few decades we have lived under conditions of legitimized falsehood, and this falsehood, unfortunately, continues to exist in the fourth year of restructuring. In 1988 the textbook 'Kriminologiya' [Criminology] (used in the training of all the country's lawyers!) comes out in which it is written in black and white that during the years of the Soviet regime, and especially in the past two decades (!), the crime rate has dropped by an unprecedented amount. This is when the crime rate in the past 20 years has doubled among juveniles alone. I do not know how many more crimes have been hidden from the records! That is the source of the phenomenon that we, suddenly coming to our wits, are studying so closely today. And therefore I do not rule out the fact that against the background of the lies in which we have lived, the processes in the youth milieu have gone so far!"

"But all the same," continues A. I. Gurov, "it is impossible to assign youth gangs to the category of organized crime. They are, unquestionably, nonorganized crime, since they lack one of the basic signs of organized crime—corruption."

"Does that mean, Aleksandr Ivanovich," I ask, "that one can breathe a sigh of relief, since the gangs are not a youth detachment of the mafia?"

"I think, all the same, that we cannot do that. We are reaching the conclusion that the overall leadership of the youth gangs is exercised by people from the mafia. To what extent, we do not yet know. But the fact that it is, is known for sure! After all, it is no accident when a recidivist criminal arrives in Kazan and a car is immediately bought for him there. And let me assure you, it's a good model of car. With what money, tell me? That is, people from the mafia are skillfully directing the gangster (and I cannot call it anything else) youth movement."

"But for what? To recruit bodyguards for themselves from among them?"

"Yes, there's a direct purpose! To divert the work of the law-enforcement agencies from themselves! Let the militia break up the 'children,' they figure. Incidentally, we observed that phenomenon in the case of the Lyubery, when all attention was diverted to the kids and they were turned into the chief mafiosi!"

Militia Maj. V. A. Grishin, senior scientific associate at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' Research Institute, cites additional evidence of the link between the mafia and the youth gangs:

"In Kazan itself, when charges were being brought against leaders of the criminal world, disturbances immediately started to break out among young people, which diverted the attention of the internal affairs' apparatus. Just who lit the match under that flammable mass?"

"Comrades!" K. G. Myalo again enters the discussion. "I get the impression that my reference to the Middle Ages was taken as a purely academic reference that had nothing to do with the subject of our discussion. And now I am hearing that the organization of youth gangs is being carried out, all the same, from the criminal world. It seems to me that this is an argument about the chicken and the egg. Let me clarify: humanity begins at the point where, in place of a pack, a complex and developing social organization arises. At the point where the complex social organizations starts to fall apart for whatever reasons, a reverse movement—toward packs, toward gangs—arises. After all, the pack is an archaic, ossified form of social organization that has existed on the margin of, or within society at large. And the size of the territory controlled by the pack depends to a considerable extent on the stage at which society exists. At the present, we have entered a stage of development in which centrifugal forces are sharply intensifying. That is very important to understand. After all, in the past 20 years a monstrous process of marginalization took place in the country: a mass of the population was cast out of rural areas into cities, and the cities grew without acquiring a sufficient social and cultural sphere. In the cities a contingent was created that is characterized by tendencies toward psychological aggression, the putting together of elementary groups organized around leaders,

and naturally, a great predisposition toward criminalization. That is, society itself continually nourished the gangs. If we take Kazan, we will see that the intensity of the growth of youth gangs coincides with the formation of new rayons, and teenagers belonging to the gangs are mainly from the working-class milieu; practically all the youngsters studying at vocational-technical schools belong to them (and this is not just in Kazan). That is, we are talking about the emergence of that very 'ghetto' that both in our country and in West nourishes the phenomenon that we are discussing today. But we, in answering the question of 'what must be done?' are usually convinced that we can solve all our problems through will and effort, forgetting that social processes are just as objective as natural ones."

3. So Where Should a Solution Be Sought?

I cite an example from a report prepared by the USSR Procuracy:

"Juveniles Khabibulin and others (four persons in all) committed malicious hooliganism and group rape. Despite the fact that they had previously committed unlawful actions, behaved drunkenly, and had records with the militia, at first the procurator in Privolzhskiy Rayon, Kazan, chose a method of intervention for them in the form of a signed undertaking not to leave the rayon. Subsequently they were all arrested by the rayon people's court. After the trial, a group of young people from their gang prevented the delivery of the convicted persons to an investigative cell and took them away from their convoy."

I have specially emphasized the last lines. Specially in order to say what I will most likely find in the readers' letters that the editors will receive after this article comes out: Yet didn't that sort of thing happen before? What sort of democracy is that—for teenagers to attack a court building? Are these the 'children of glasnost'?

Therefore, let us soberly evaluate the situation: What exists today, what did not exist yesterday, and what sort of legacy we have received today from the past?

"Certain major jurists," says V. S. Ovchinskiy, "are advancing the thesis today that restructuring has created exceptionally favorable conditions for the law-enforcement system, and that in such conditions the crime rate, especially among young people, will steadily drop. That is a faulty thesis that very much recalls the excessive praise of the era of stagnation. Restructuring is a revolution, and every revolution breaks down stereotypes in people's minds, and smashes idols and ideals. And that breaking cannot help but be reflected first of all in young people! Let us suppose that the development of cooperative activity leads—especially in the initial stages—to the greater stratification of society. How is that stratification supposed to correspond to young people's notions of social justice? And that is just one example of today's contradictions. Therefore, we should all be prepared for

work in the harshest of conditions and must not console ourselves with the notion that since there is restructuring, everything will be fine right away."

But in principle, I think, in hearing our interlocutors, it is easy to find a solution. At least on paper. In the first place, outline measures that should contribute to improving the situation in the youth hot spots: intensify work at young people's places of residence, involve the public, influence the family, improve upbringing in the schools.

But even now, as I am writing these "measures on paper," my face cramps with a bored yawn. How many times have we repeated one and the same thing, like an incantation? A hundred? A thousand? A million, multiplied in hundreds of millions of newspaper articles? And to what avail?

That is why I find the words of Militia Maj. V. A. Grishin so accurate:

"In analyzing problem situations, we have so often stated in the press and on television that, yes, the school is doing a poor job of upbringing, the Komsomol is doing a poor job, etc., etc., that in ordinary people's minds these phrases of ours have long since turned into a meaningless stereotype. People wanted statements to be followed by results, and there have not been any. But teenagers are maximalists, and when they do not see real results, they themselves start to seek a solution and try to solve their problems themselves. And distorted forms of gangs are formed as alternatives to unrealized public promises, of which so many have been given to young people."

"In the first place," V. S. Ovchinskiy believes, "it is necessary to ensure the elementary observance of the socialist rule of law, i.e., to create a normal atmosphere in the country's hot spots! And only then work to solve social problems! The residents of the hot spots have grown tired of youth wars. In the final analysis, the lives of their children are in constant danger!"

"But look at what the situation is!" says Militia Col. G. I. Filchenkov, a representative of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. "A fight is under way, and, say, 50 people are involved in it. One of them does bodily injury to one another, and criminal charges are brought against that one person! But what about the rest of those who took part in the fight? They go completely unpunished! I am not saying that they all should be put in prison, but the law also provides such a measure as a fine of up to 300 rubles. But is such a measure employed? Practically not! And for that reason youngsters play at war with the militia!"

V. A. Grishin adds with alarm:

"Comrades! These games will lead to no good! What I believe are extreme incidents are happening one after

another in the country: teenagers are blockading militia divisions in which their arrested comrades are being held. I cite the latest examples: Lipetsk, Dzerzhinsk, Morshansk, Moscow."

"And what are we supposed to do in cases of such disorders? We have no right to use special means against teenagers. So what can we do then, tell me?" asks A. I. Gurov. "Unquestionably, we need economic, social and legal measures to solve the problems that have accumulated today in the youth hot spots. But what is to be done, say, in cases of a direct attack by teenagers on a militia division, as has already happened more than once? Democracy is democracy, but measures of force are needed in order to protect democracy! Should we protect the interests of society, or not?"

I tell our guests that I have seen with my own eyes, in Moscow, militia officers armed with clubs (the force of their blows, it is said, reaches 180 kilograms). But for some reason they were strolling outside the Intourist Hotel on Gorkiy Street where, besides prostitutes and vodka sellers, there were no infuriated crowds at all, and therefore I simply could not understand who they were intimidating and against whom they were protecting themselves.

"But it was with the use of special means that a fight was prevented in the center of Moscow, near the Uzbekistan Restaurant!" recalls F. F. Polozov.

"That is, we have reached a situation in which the solution lies in force? We intimidate them, and everything will be swept away as though with the brush of a hand?" I ask, doubtfully.

"For now the youth gangs are intimidating those around them!" says Ye. G. Baal. "In Kazan one activist hooligan was arrested. An investigation began, but as soon as a witness declared himself, the door of his apartment was immediately set fire to. It has reached the point where the door of a militia officer was burned down!"

"And I," adds G. F. Filchenkov, "saw a victim's statement in which he replied to the question of who had beaten him: I will not say anything; write 'fell off a helicopter'! And that's what was written! The people must not be intimidated to such a degree by young people! So I agree with my colleagues: at the first stage it is necessary to impose order."

"But the militia alone cannot cope with the situation in Kazan itself," says Ye. G. Baal. The boys do not leave work for days at a time; they sleep on chairs, on tables. They are working at full capacity."

"Permit me to disagree with you," says Ye. N. Savinkova, arguing with him. "The militia's familiar urge to distort the real picture with false figures has

resulted in that same Kazan in raising the impunity of hooligans to a massive scale. In three (out of seven) of Kazan's rayons alone, our checkups disclosed 124 crimes—124!—with regard to which the lodging of criminal charges had been rejected without justification. Moreover, the victims turned out to be teenagers who had been beaten by other teenagers. But instead of investigating their complaints, militia officers had thrown themselves with enviable energy into finding some sort of compromising materials on the victims and thereby forcing them to withdraw their complaints. And there is more. In 1988 so far, Kazan criminal investigators have solved only one-fourth of the recorded gang crimes. The investigators' efforts have been directed only at gathering materials on two or three teenagers who have been "caught," while the rest have received a kind of indulgence. And there is more. In 1988 only 15 percent of those who took part in gang fights have been identified, and they do not include a single adult organizer or a single instigator. And I am convinced that the most important criminals, who are kept well hidden and are on the top of the hierarchical ladder, are not being identified. That is why we cannot stop the growth of aggressive gangs today."

"But comrades!" says O. F. Gurovanov, entering the argument. "It is fine when one more leader or simply an active participant is arrested and convicted. But it turns out that we thereby help build up his prestige! After all, the influence of the criminal world on the youth movement is such that the 'zone' is one way up on the gang hierarchical ladder! He comes out and gains even greater prestige."

"And so what are we supposed to do, not imprison them at all?" Where can we send them all, to Mars?" jokes one participant in our meeting, bitterly.

And the argument heats up further. Evening has long since fallen, the editorial offices are empty, and our voices are probably carrying loudly in the empty building.

But with that I am stopping my report of the meeting.

All its participants (and it has been a long time since we had such a prestigious council of experts gathered together) expressed numerous proposals and solutions to the alarming situation. Sometimes they were controversial, sometimes mutually exclusive of one another. I deliberately do not want to cite them in order not to give either myself or you hopes with the deceptiveness of an easy formula.

I shall only cite, in conclusion, the words of Yelena Nikolayevna Savinkova, which I personally agree very closely with:

"In this complex and cruel world, the teenager is far less protected than he was in the years of childhood. Where can he seek protection? In the family? For parents he is

no longer a child but a teenager. In the school? Who needs him there? In the militia? Absurd. For that reason, even if he doesn't accept either the goals or the mores of a gang, he is forced to be a member of one. He simply has no other protection."

For that reason, probably, I keep thinking about the Kazan teenager who passed through the ranks under a hail of blows.

He is on our conscience.

Embezzlement At Petroleum Facility Leads To Shooting Spree

18000185 [Editorial Report] Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 45, November 1988, publishes on page 21 a 2,500 word article by A. Nikolayev entitled "A Bribe for the Chairman." Appearing "several years after the occurrence of these events," the report exposes the activities of a major corruption ring which siphoned 2-3 million rubles worth of fuel and lubricants from a petroleum facility in Tajikistan. The operations of this group, which were masterminded by a republic energy vice-chairman named Amonov, ultimately resulted in a shooting spree in which the plant's director, who had recently been dismissed, gunned down the chairman of the republic's State Petroleum Products Committee, as well as one of the chairman's assistants and a chief accountant. Ironically the gunman, unable to locate his real target (Amonov), turned the gun on himself before he could denounce the crime ring. As a result, Amonov was promoted to replace the slain committee chairman. Eventually, however, persistent letters from local residents prompted a year-long investigation by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which resulted in Amonov's indictment and conviction. He was sentenced to eleven years in prison without the right of appeal.

Uzbek Internal Affairs Minister on Public's View of Police Performance

18300068a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
30 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by U.S. Rakhimov, Uzbek SSR minister of internal affairs: "The Dialogue Took Place"]

[Text] In December of last year, the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) placed a questionnaire for readers in republic, city, and rayon newspapers. Newspaper articles of a Uzbek SSR MVD press-group and an article by U.S. Rakhimov, Republic Minister of Internal Affairs, which was published on 3 April, discussed work on the answers.

Today, the topic of discussion is the practical utilization of the conclusions derived.

Having published a questionnaire with questions about militia work, we "drew fire on ourselves." But the majority of the respondents to the questionnaire assessed the very invitation to such a conversation as a bold step which meets the essence of the changes occurring in the country.

Since last December, the Uzbek SSR MVD has received more than 4,500 letters. A working group of experienced specialists from various services, including criminal investigation, Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation (BKSS), the Organizational Inspector Administration, the Political Administration, the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate (GAI), and the Ministry of Internal Affairs Higher School, was formed to analyze them.

More than 400 of the letters received were citizens' complaints and statements on specific cases. Many were confirmed during checks. This helped to clarify the weak links in the structure of the republics' internal affairs agencies.

The largest number of the writers complained about the poor work of precinct militia inspectors.

Thus, N. Kholdarova, Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon, Tashkent Oblast, reported in her letter about the passivity of the precinct inspector. Kholdarova's husband, K. Abulkasimov, a drunkard, drove her and her children out of the house, insulted and taunted her, but the precinct militia inspector did not do anything to the unrestrained hooligan. After verifying this letter, Abulkasimov was sent to a mandatory alcoholism treatment [program]. The "compassionate" precinct militia officer, R. Botirov, was also given strict disciplinary punishment.

I. Kozlov, resident of Kagan, reported that his neighbors, N. Nefedov and A. Pyshkov, did not work anywhere, drank heavily, and prevented him from relaxing after a hard day's work. The letter was verified. Pyshkov was placed in the Bukhara Psychiatric Hospital for treatment of alcoholism, and Nefedov was sent to a drug treatment clinic. Sr Lt M. Abdulkhakov, precinct militia inspector of the Kagan Municipal Internal Affairs Department (GOVD), was severely warned about the laxity of his work with alcoholics and parasites. The facts were also confirmed upon verifying the letter of A. Levchenko of Kagan, who wrote about the trouble at inspector R. Shamratov's precinct. According to the results of the verification, Militia Capt R. Shamratov, who works as the precinct inspector of the Internal Affairs Department (OVD) of the Kagan Gorispolkom, has been warned about incomplete duty compliance, and disciplinary penalties have also been imposed on his immediate supervisors for laxity of supervision.

However, not only critical letters were received. People also named precinct inspectors who are distinguished by their high moral and business-like qualities.

This is what A. Senkina, U. Fazilova, Ye. Zharova, M. Kalinina, and other residents of the Frunze Housing Unit of Fergana write: "We can say much and only good things about our precinct militia inspector, Muradil Turgunovich Akhmadaliyev. The struggle with alcoholics, brawlers, and hooligans is a common, popular cause. Therefore, seeing that Akhmadaliyev, regardless of the time, works according to his conscience, we help him, too."

Quite a few letters came in about motor vehicle inspectors. In particular, people reported about extortion, rudeness in dealing with drivers, and arbitrariness on the roads.

K. Ergashev of Namangan Oblast wrote that GAI workers illegally instituted administrative proceedings against him. A verification conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs confirmed this. A severe reprimand for groundlessly imposing a fine was imposed on Militia Maj T. Nishanbayev, senior inspector of the Namangan Oblast GAI Department, and Militia Sr Lt S. Zhumanov and Militia Sr Sgt I. Iskandarov, employees of the GAI Department, were warned.

We have to regretfully state that many of the authors answering the questionnaires reported that they did not turn to the militia for help, not expecting to find the proper attention and assistance.

Just why this is so is explained largely by the drop in prestige of the internal affairs agencies during the stagnation of the recent past. Serious steps have been taken to restore the population's respect toward the militia and to clean up militia personnel. However, it must be recognized that today there are still some employees who undermine the people's trust through their lack of conscientiousness.

A. Starova, who lives in Tashkent, complained about militia workers who did not respond to a statement about a robbery. Just what did the MVD employees who verified her complaint find out? A. Urazov, senior precinct inspector of the Akmal-Ikramovskiy Rayispolkom OVD, who took the oral statement about the robbery, got it mired in red-tape. Sh. Alimov and A. Dzhabbarov, criminal investigation employees, also behaved irresponsibly. The operational-investigation group did not drive to the site of the incident in full force and did not take the proper steps to catch the criminals.

We severely punished a number of employees who did not fulfill their professional duties. Sh. Alimov and A. Dzhabbarov were fired from the internal affairs agencies.

M. Popov from Zarafshan complained that the militia was not taking steps to uncover theft in his apartment. This tip was confirmed. By order of the chief of the Navoi Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration

(UVD), severe disciplinary proceedings have been instituted against criminal investigation employees of the Muruntau OVD, Sr Lt A. Bliznenko and Militia Maj Yu. Kondratskov, the former chief of the Zarafshan GOVD.

We also came across cases in which workers of the local internal affairs agencies insufficiently conscientiously approached the examination of letter-answers to the questionnaires. Workers of the ministry's staff took steps in those cases.

Thus, the residents of Khorezmskiy Rayon, independently of each other, reported in their letters that pickpockets and also gamblers—"thimble" and card players—are very active in public places—in markets, bus stations, and parks. The local militia, in their words, is not doing anything. The head of the Khorezmskiy Rayon Criminal Investigations answered the inquiry of the leadership of the ministry's Criminal Investigation Administration with a canned reply.

That is when two groups of experienced specialists in combating pickpockets were formed. As a result, in a short time several criminals who had committed a series of thefts in cities of the oblast, were arrested red-handed. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against them. Twelve players in games of chance have been identified and cautioned to end their parasitic life style. The leaders of the internal affairs agencies who ignored what they perceived as "petty" violations of the law received severe reprimands.

A large number of letters from workers contained "hot" tips about violations of socialist law. As a rule, they involved trade and public catering.

Timely and coordinated measures were taken on such tips.

Residents of Dzhabbayskiy Rayon, Samarkand Oblast, complained about constant overcharges in Store No 1 in the city of Dzhabbay. Workers of the Samarkand Oblispolkom UVD BKhSS made a test purchase in this store. The tip was confirmed. Actions are being taken against M. Rashidov, the store manager.

We can also cite this example. In answering the questionnaire, Z. Kamalova from Tashkent wrote that meat products at the Tashkent Meat Packing Combine are being pilfered, especially at night. The tip was checked by employees of the Tashkent Oblispolkom UVD. As a result of a raid conducted there, several dozen pilferers were arrested by the militia, among them U. Dekhanov, a meat packing combine worker who had stolen 28 kg of meat, and M. Mirzarakhimov, a loader at this same plant who had stolen 20 kg. Both will appear in court upon completion of the investigation.

A group appeal by relatives of people undergoing treatment at the Municipal Clinic of the Tashkent Psychiatric

Hospital No 1 became grounds for a thorough examination of the activities of the activities of the public catering organization there. They reported on the low quality of the food there and the unsanitary conditions during its preparation. A surprise inspection of the public catering organization's operation was conducted by employees of the Tashkent Gorispolkom UVD BKhSS administration jointly with representatives of the sanitary epidemiological station and the public. It was learned that cook Kh. Ruzmetov shorted the first course by more than 2 kg of meat and 3 kg of potatoes. The prepared rassolnik [meat soup] did not meet the standards for caloric content by 46 percent and the prepared zrazy [meat pies] by 27 percent. A shortage of sugar, butter and other products was discovered in the warehouse. G. Semenova, who is financially responsible for the warehouse, could not intelligibly clarify anything. An investigation is currently being conducted on this case, and the guilty parties will be punished.

The responses to the questionnaire also contain suggestions for improving the militia's operation. In particular, it is suggested that more employees be selected from labor collectives, and as a result of competitive selection and not mechanical completion of forms.

Citizens call our attention to inadequate militia equipment and to the need for broader introduction of computers into criminal investigations.

They also suggest: more frequently and more fully inform the people about the progress of the struggle with crime, deeply analyze its causes, and more widely rely on the assistance of the workers.

It appears that a "reader—militia" dialogue has taken place. The specific results which it has yielded must meet this desire.

The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs thanks the readers for their active cooperation, the discussion of problems of improving the activities of the internal affairs agencies, and the constructive suggestions on many aspects of perestroyka which are important to us.

Considering the useful experience of meeting with the readers with whom we established contact, it has been decided to continue studying public opinion on the operation of the internal affairs agencies.

Uzbek Justice Minister on Reform in Republic's Court System

18300068b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
18 Aug 88 p 2

[Article by B. Alimdzhonov, Uzbek SSR minister of justice: "Preparing for Reform: The Right To Judge and How It Is Realized Today"]

[Text] Over the course of many years, the Soviet court system was reduced to a normal governmental body, and

a command style was frequently demonstrated with respect to it in its contacts with local party and Soviet leaders. Therefore, one of its immediate tasks is to introduce the practice of electing rayon, city, and oblast courts by the higher soviets of people's deputies and the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics; set a longer term of office; increase the quality of selection of future judges—it is mandatory that they have sufficient work skills in the legal specialty and life experience; and enhance the role and responsibility of people's assessors. Naturally, the Soviet people want to see the court as a true defender of their interests and not a bureaucratic institution and a red-tape trial.

A number of party and governmental resolutions adopted recently, including those of the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum calling for the examination of issues associated with the restructuring of justice bodies at the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, are aimed precisely at this.

Meanwhile, the number of violations of the law committed by the courts, resulting in more new human dramas, are not decreasing. One can also find numerous examples confirming this in the practice of the Uzbekistan courts. The number of a series of crimes, especially misappropriation of state and public property and also the theft of citizens' personal property, is increasing. What does this indicate? First of all, it indicates that many judges do not attempt to examine deeply the causes of such phenomena, they more often go along the path of their fixation, but they take insufficiently effective steps against specific culprits.

The level of previous convictions for theft, robbery assaults, profiteering, and defrauding customers is virtually not declining. More heinous crimes are also causing concern. The struggle with drunkenness and home-distilling has slackened (here, despite the acuteness of the situation, the punishment prescribed by law, seizure of property, as an additional punishment is not being used); the problem of drug addiction is serious.

Courts of all levels are largely to blame for the tenseness of the current situation in the republic. This also indicates the political immaturity of certain of our agencies of justice and judicial personnel, particularly those newly elected who act in an uncoordinated manner and do not rely on the main strength—society and labor collectives.

That is why in the quest for a solution to the situation which has developed we have a right to sharpen our "agenda" and say that if there is a place that glasnost and democratization must be demonstrated more visibly, it is in the work of the courts. We self-critically recognize that many courts have not established firm ties with public organizations, the press, and propaganda activists, do not always provide them with full and reliable information about their work, and do not take public opinion, suggestions and citizens' criticism into account. This especially applies to criminal and civil cases which having a public response, which frequently gives rise to

various conjecture and rumors. Certain justice and court workers do not understand that the signals from the press and citizens' letters and complaints can in many ways help in administering justice.

In the increasing mail of the Ministry of Justice, the number of complaints against judges' work, mainly about bureaucratism, rudeness, violation of procedural norms and judicial ethics, and unjustified refusals to accept suits, and red-tape has increased. And this is despite the fact that during the time that has passed since April 1985, on the whole, quite a bit has been done. In most oblasts, the workload of the people's judges has increased. All criminal cases, civil cases, and administrative materials which come up for consideration require a thorough investigation. In the complicated situation associated with misappropriations, falsification of reports, and bribery during procurement and processing of raw cotton, oblast courts have considered about 900 "cotton" cases alone, in which almost 5,000 people have been convicted.

Nevertheless, our main concerns lie ahead. These are linked, first of all, with the laxity of preventive work and the need for taking more fundamental steps to eliminate the causes of any offenses. A trial is the procedural stage in which the causes and conditions contributing to the perpetration of crimes are most deeply exposed. That is why there is such a great need to increase the quality of special decisions and to ensure proper monitoring of their execution. The task has been set—to create everywhere a situation of increased intolerance of law-breakers. But this can be achieved only by implementing a series of thoroughly thought-out social, economic, and legal measures and purposefully popularizing them. A unilateral approach, formalism, and legal oversimplification hamper judges.

There are quite a few instances of sentences being passed on poorly investigated cases, unqualified persons passing sentence, and the prescribing excessively mild or severe punishment.

The sources of many judicial errors did not arise today or yesterday. During the years of Stalinism, the Soviet judicial system was turned upside down; priority was given to centralized and totally unmonitored preliminary investigation. In those and subsequent years, a verdict of guilty was pronounced in 99 of criminal cases.

Although in 1987 the courts began more often to pronounce not-guilty verdicts with respect to the innocent, thereby upholding their independence, the measures adopted on ending cases of pronouncing unjust verdicts have not yet produced the desired results.

There is no justification for the illegal conviction of a citizen. One month ago, the collegium of the ministry once again keenly appraised the intolerable situation on

this issue. Whereas in 1985 the courts passed illegal verdicts on 32 people, in 1986 they did so on 42 people, and in 1987 on 56 people. In the first half of this year, 27 citizens were illegally convicted in Uzbekistan. The greatest number of such unusual occurrences were committed by courts in the Samarkand, Navoi, Andizhan, and Fergana oblasts and in the city of Tashkent.

The grounds for reversing the verdicts included not only the failure to prove the charges, but even more often the total lack of material evidence. This is no longer simply official negligence but something worse.

In late 1983, a "case" arose charging B. Prokhorov with bribery. He was a senior engineer and secretary of the party organization of the Kattakurgan Motor Column who had spoken out against inflated and falsified reports. It was precisely for this reason that the criminal case was fabricated by BKhSS [Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] and investigating agencies using provocative methods and false witnesses. Boris Vasilyevich sat in jail for 2 years and 10 months. Six trials occurred on this case, one after the other. It was returned for additional investigation four times, and the Republic Supreme Court reversed the judicial decision just as many times. The motor column's labor collective expressed complete distrust in both the investigation and in the two guilty verdicts of the Samarkand Oblast Court and put forth a public defender, but neither the prosecutor nor the court would listen to their opinion. As a result, B. Prokhorov was nevertheless acquitted and the guilty officials severely punished, but that was after the case had gotten a broad public response thanks to the judicial essay titled "Marked Money" published in the magazine SOVETSKIIYE PROFSSOYUZY.

The unsubstantiated conviction of citizens often involves not only serious infringement of their moral rights, but also financial and other damage. Bearing this in mind, the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has demanded in each such instance that the honor and dignity of the citizen and his work, property, housing and other rights be fully reinstated. The courts themselves are obligated to take steps to hold accountable those guilty of unsubstantiated conviction and to devote special attention to checking statements about illegal methods of investigation.

In this regard, the lessons of the analysis of the article in PRAVDA VOSTOKA published in February under the heading "The Case of the Oranges" again merit attention. The collegium of the ministry is in total agreement with the indignant tone of the article. Yes, a man cannot be punished without real and procedurally proven guilt, but M. Khaydarov, assistant chief of the Frunzenskiy Rayon Department of Internal Affairs BKhSS of the city of Tashkent, was in custody for 22 months for slander of bribery. This gross violation of the law on the part of the investigator on particularly important cases of the republic's Procurator's Office entailed an even more grave

violation of human rights by the court. The Tashkent Municipal Court, having returned the case during the course of the first examination for further inquiry, 4 months later sentenced the innocent man to 8 years imprisonment. The Supreme Court of the Uzbek SSR reversed the sentence, and not until 1 year after receiving the case did the municipal court render a not-guilty verdict on M. Khaydarov for the lack of material evidence in his actions. Subsequently, M. Khaydarov was reinstated into the party and job, and in accordance with the findings of the municipal court, he was compensated in the sum of more than 7,000 rubles in material damages caused by the illegal criminal proceedings against him. The guilty employees of the Procurator's Office and the court were given severe party and disciplinary punishment.

Individual judges are satisfied with stereotypical thinking which gives rise to an accusatory tendency, slowness, and a lack of initiative. There are quite a few censures for disorganization in the operation of the courts, when citizens are called into court without consideration of their employment production. Incorrect organization of the courts' work results in the postponement of sessions and to a direct loss of both the judges' time and the time of the participants in the trial.

The practice of remitting cases for further examination based on far-fetched reasons and the unwillingness to investigate the circumstances of criminal manifestations also cause considerable losses to the interests of strengthening legality. Here there are expenditures and losses associated with the needlessly tearing people away from work or studies, the enormous moral damage to the accused, who are sometimes held in custody, bureaucratism, and red-tape. On the other hand, there is quite a bit of unjustified indulgence and cases of oversimplification in applying the standards of law and violations of human rights. After all, almost 60 percent of the convictions are overturned and remitted for a new judicial examination as unsubstantiated.

The increase of suits on work reinstatement, 61.6 percent of which are satisfied, is disquieting. It is also alarming that 151,000 rubles have been recovered for those reinstated, and only 25,000 rubles from guilty persons.

It is incumbent upon judges to devote particular attention to timely and qualitative resolution of numerous housing disputes, the number of suits for which has increased to 7,000 per year per year. This reflects not only the acuteness of the housing problem, but also the frequent violation of citizens' legal rights by the ispolkoms of local soviets, and also the widespread cases of incorrect application of the law by courts when considering such disputes. All this also applies fully to the capital of the republic. Unfortunately, the peoples' courts of Tashkent are making serious mistakes in these

cases. Suffice it to say that last year, 75 of 179 appealed and protested decisions on evictions were reversed (the greatest number were in Chilanzarskiy, Leninskiy, and Khamzinskiy rayons).

Responsibility for this intolerable situation with the quality of examination of criminal and civil cases must be fully shared between the people's courts of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Supreme Court, the Tashkent Municipal Court, and oblast courts. Judicial supervision by them has been extremely lax; they have accepted the numerous acts of lawlessness and displays of judicial arbitrariness, and frequently set a bad example in their work.

Last year, in appeals alone, the Republic Supreme Court reversed oblast court verdicts on 519 individuals, which in terms of percentages is almost twice as many as in 1986 and six times that of the people's courts. Sentences were changed in respect to 568 individuals.

The Tashkent, Samarkand, Fergana, and Kashka-Darya oblast courts and the Autonomous Republic's Supreme Court turned down organizational measures worked out for increasing the quality of examination of criminal cases.

The workers of the republic, the public, deputies, and all the population must know about this in order to demand decisive correction of the situation from the courts of the oblast level on the eve and during the course of elections at the soviet sessions. No talk about glasnost and democratization will help the matter until the people themselves and their plenipotentiaries in the organs of power actually begin eradication of lawlessness and bureaucratism. The statute on disciplinary responsibility of the Uzbek SSR judges has been in effect for 12 years. All judges can be held accountable and disciplined in the case of incompatibility with their position, right up to raising the question of recall before expiration of term.

Between 1985 and 1988, 34 people's court judges and 15 members of oblast courts were recalled before their term expired for low quality of work, gross violation of the law, misuse of official position, and immoral conduct. However, such measures are inadequate.

The law on the status of deputies to the USSR provides them such rights as deputy monitoring for consideration of complaints, participation in checking-up on state agencies, including law enforcement agencies. But they still do not adequately utilize these rights.

Perestroyka is a profound economic reform. This means that we also must review the role of the courts in the practice of applying civil law, and its place in conditions of the growing effect of the Laws on State Enterprises and Cooperatives. Perestroyka is a profound awareness by the courts of the new criminal policy resulting from the idea of a considerable humanization in the draft new Fundamental of Criminal Legislation, currently being

prepared. Perestroyka is a deepening democratization based on the inviolable right of every citizen to have a real opportunity for the judicial defense of his legal rights and interests.

We are firmly resolved not to allow the mechanism of justice to continue to "run idle," to overcome the negative phenomena in it, to eliminate the double standard in the application of the law to the rank and file and to the "nomenklatura" violators, to put an end to the uncritical attitude towards information of preliminary investigations, and to link court practice with the realities of economic life.

Particularly intolerable are the miscalculations committed by the departments of justice and the courts in the prevention juvenile delinquency. The number of convicted juveniles, mainly for mercenary crimes, rose 3.5 percent, including Komsomol members and juveniles not engaged in socially useful activity and being raised by single-parent families.

Crimes among them due to drunkenness and drug addiction are slowly decreasing. In these conditions, the courts not only have not ensured an active, offensive struggle with juvenile delinquency, but have also committed procedural oversimplification and violations of the principle of individualized punishment. The individuals getting juveniles involved in criminal activities and drunkenness are almost never made accountable. The courts rarely react to the shortcomings in the activities of Komsomol organizations, commissions, and inspections on juvenile cases.

Our children's future is inseparably linked with maternity protection and protection of the health and honor of women. Cases of self-immolation of women are a disgraceful phenomenon, incompatible with socialist reality. They became possible as a result of the revival of feudal psychology and morals and the weakening of the struggle with the vestiges of the patriarchal life style.

Each such case must be widely publicized and must attract the attention of the party and soviet agencies. In reality, proceedings on cases of driving someone to suicide are actually being hushed up. Only one individual decision has been rendered, and three out of court meetings have been conducted on such timely cases.

The serious shortcomings in the activities of courts and judicial bodies indicate the abysmal omissions in work with personnel. The main omission is that the labor collectives virtually do not participate in personnel promotions. Hence, there are also inexcusable errors in personnel placement.

Problems associated with strengthening the material base of the justice system, construction and repair of court buildings and courtrooms, and their logistics support are being unsatisfactorily resolved. Ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies are very lax in assisting in this area.

The restructuring of the activities of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Justice apparatus and the courts, agencies and institutions within its jurisdiction is in the initial stage. Therefore, the ministry collegium, relying on proven methods of increasing the personal responsibility of personnel, is stubbornly determined to achieve a change for the better in firming up the legal bases of state and public life, crime prevention, and educational work.

Decline in Violent Crimes Reverses Longtime Trend

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[Article by E. F. Pobegaylo, docent at the Academy of the USSR MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs), candidate of juridical sciences, under the rubric "Strengthening Legality and the Fight against Crime": "Violent Crime—Current Trends and Prospects in the Fight"; words in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] The fight against violent offenses against the individual citizen (homicide, bodily injury, rape, concealed theft, robbery, and others) is one of the primary directions of the criminal policy of the socialist state. These crimes cause enormous harm to society; their "price" is extremely high. Each year tens of thousands of violent criminal offenses against people are committed. It is not accidental that the personal safety of citizens is one of the integral indicators of the quality of life under contemporary conditions. "The confidence of Soviet people in the future, their desire and ability to support democratic initiatives and carry them out depends largely on consistent implementation of the principles of socialist justice and protecting the rights of citizens, their lives, honor, and dignity."¹

The concept of violent crime. In the specialized literature the concepts of "violent crime" and "violent crimes" are frequently used as equivalent. We cannot agree with this.

Violent crime, it appears, should be defined as a phenomenon of social pathology which finds expression in constant and relatively large-scale occurrence of extreme behavior, prohibited by criminal law, of physical and mental violence against the individual. Its determination is based on contradictions in social functioning and development which cause a disorganization of social communities (groups, strata, and micromilieus) and deformations in their everyday life, consciousness, and way of life which lead to aggressive criminal outbreaks in interpersonal relations.²

For their part, violent crimes are empirical manifestations of the particular kind of crime. They are singled out from the entire set of criminal actions envisioned by the criminal law based on criteria such as the antisocial orientation of the crime (primarily indicated by the object of the offense), the criminal's method of action, and the form of guilt.³ In conformity with this intentional crimes that infringe on social relations whose

nucleus is protecting the physical status of the individual (life, health, and bodily inviolability) and which necessarily involve the objective element of physical force against an individual, or an attempt or threat to use it, should be classified as violent crimes.⁴ The most consistent and significant types of violent crimes are murders, bodily injury, rape, robbery, forcible theft, and hooliganism associated with violence; the state and dynamics of these crimes are primarily what defines violent crime as a whole.⁵

Trends in violent crime. An analysis of the trends in violent crime in our country in the last 25 years illustrates unfavorable quantitative and qualitative changes overall which worsened in connection with stagnation and crisis phenomena and elements of social corrosion. They gave rise to conformism, accommodation, dual morality, social apathy, lack of spirituality, indifference, and skepticism which destroyed social consciousness and led to a certain dehumanization of relations between people, a decline in the level of social solidarity, and the spread of aggressiveness, domestic conflicts, and other crime-breeding factors. The steady spread of alcohol use among certain population groups and the growth in mental illness also played a part. Ignorance of the principles of social justice led to an increase in the number of deliberate outsiders and failures with deprivation, rejection, inferiority, and malicious complexes.⁶ For many of them heightened aggressiveness became a means of self-expression and self-affirmation.

Parasitic Philistine psychology and consumer interests, which won out over spiritual values, became widespread. This led to lack of discrimination in means of achieving goals, to moral impurity and lack of principle, and to individualism and egotism with all the crime-breeding consequences that follow from them. "The growth in drinking, spread of drug addiction, and increase in crime were indicators of a decline in social morals."⁷

By the early 1980's (compared to the 1960's) significant growth had been recorded both in absolute and relative indicators that characterize the number of serious violent crimes recorded (homicide, serious bodily injury, rape, theft, and robbery). Thus, between 1966 and 1980 the coefficient of murders and rapes recorded per 100,000 population increased by roughly one-third, while intentional serious bodily injury increased 2.2 times. Recorded thefts and robberies increased 1.5 and 1.3 times respectively between 1976 and 1984.

The trend toward growth in violent crimes has been quite stable for a long time. It has been seen most intensively in rural areas, newly built cities, rapidly developing cities, and urban-type communities. By the mid-1980's quantitative growth in serious violent crimes was stopped. Crime statistics for 1985-1987 already indicate a significant decline in the figures for registration of such crimes, as the table below confirms.

Figures for Violent Crimes Compared to Crime as a Whole in 1985-1987

	In Percentage of Previous Year (+;-)		
	1985	1986	1987
Total Number of Crimes	+2.7	-4.6	-9.5
Serious Crimes	-6.6	-15.5	-14.6
Homicides	-8.7	-20.7	-1.2
Serious Bodily Injuries	-13.5	-24.3	-2.9
Rapes	-10.0	-4.7	-9.5
Robberies	-8.0	-25.3	-0.3
Thefts	-11.7	-25.6	+2.1
Hooliganism	-5.5	-14.7	-19.6

I think that the most significant factors working against the causes of crime have been normalization of the social atmosphere as revolutionary transformations take place in the country; the firmly implemented policy of strengthening state and public discipline; activation of the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism after the decisions adopted by the party and government in May 1985; significant improvement in registration discipline at internal affairs organs; intensification of the fight against hooliganism, which is a kind of barometer of serious violent crimes, and also against other criminal actions that create the grounds for dangerous offenses against the individual (threats of murder, mild and less serious bodily injury, torture, and illegal possession of a weapon).⁹ Many persons who have been brought to criminal trial and convicted for such actions were deprived of the possibility of committing more serious crimes against the individual. Certain changes in the demographic situation also played a significant role. Thus, as a result of the decline in the birth rate in the 1960's and early 1970's the proportion of the most criminally active population (this refers to adolescents and young people) decreased.

At the same time, as noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "The State of the Fight Against Crime in the Country and Additional Measures to Prevent Legal Offenses", dated 2 April 1988, despite the drop in crime that has been observed since 1985, the level overall continues to be high.¹⁰ This assessment applies entirely and in full to violent crime as well. In recent times certain qualitative (structural) changes have become more and more noticeable and are very alarming. Above all the degree of social danger of the particular categories of violent crimes is increasing and the seriousness of their consequences is growing. Although current violent crime as a whole tends to be domestic and situational, the proportion of organized, planned crimes, which often are distinguished by special boldness, sophistication, and cruelty, is increasing. Thus, according to figures from a comparative criminology study we made in one of the large oblasts of the Northern Caucasus¹¹, in the early 1960's one out of every 3-4 homicides was premeditated, but in the early 1980's it was already one out of every 2-3.

The proportion of malicious, "habitual" criminals with a specific (aggressive-violent) orientation among the people who commit the crimes under consideration is growing. For example, of the killers studied in the same investigation about half were persons who had precisely this orientation and whose typical character traits were extreme egocentrism, malice, aggressiveness, cruelty, and a violent habit of behavior. The proportion of serious crimes against the individual in the so-called marginal (socially unstable) milieu is increasing.¹² This refers to a certain stratum of declassé and semi-declassé elements (parasites, tramps, ruined alcoholics, drug addicts, social misfits with criminal pasts, persons engaged in prostitution, procuring, and the like). They commit serious crimes against individuals for revenge, because of arguments, to settle accounts, and to try to conceal other crimes. An increase in the criminal activity of such persons has been noted lately. A study done in the base region showed that half of all the homicides and serious bodily injuries were committed by representatives of this milieu. They are characterized by a high degree of "victimicity". Sometimes it is nothing but chance that decides who becomes the victim and who is the criminal, because both the offenders and those who are attacked have similar deformations of moral and legal consciousness. Violence against the individual among them is a kind of stereotyped behavior.

The proportion of particularly cruel criminal offenses against the individual with elements of cynicism, mockery, and sadism is increasing. A comparative analysis of a large number of criminal cases in this category over a protracted period of time as well as the results of an expert survey of associates of law-enforcing organs permits us to conclude that the degree of cruelty in contemporary violent crime is rising.¹³ In addition, there is a definite drop in the "threshold" of motivation for offenses against the individual; the proportion of so-called motiveless, unexplained, outwardly senseless crimes is increasing. The social characteristics of the persons who commit violent crimes are becoming worse, in particular the number of persons not engaged in socially useful labor among them has grown. Fifteen years ago about one out of every nine persons who committed murder or caused serious bodily injury was neither working nor in school; at the present time it is one out of five.

The number of recidivists among violent criminals is increasing. Thus, whereas in the early 1960's in the base region sample data indicated that about one-third of the murderers had criminal records, in the early 1980's it was almost one-half. The specialized recidivist represents a serious problem. If we understand this to mean repetition of not just identical but also similar criminal acts, including hooliganism associated with violence, the proportion of persons brought to trial earlier for similar actions is about half of the recidivists who commit serious violent crimes. Growth in multiple and penitentiary recidivism is observed in cases of this category.

The trends in female violent crime are quite unfavorable. Until very recently it was growing more rapidly than male crime. For example, between 1967 and 1984 the proportion of women among persons committing murder rose from 8.4 to 11 percent, and among those committing intentional serious bodily injury it rose from 3.2 to 7 percent. Women usually commit violent crimes because of family-domestic conflicts and they are often provoked by the amoral and unlawful behavior of the victims, usually spouses and co-habitants. But in recent years there has been growth in the proportion of women involved in committing such nontraditional, for them, crimes as homicide from hooliganistic motives, robbery, participation in banditry and so on. Some illegal offenses by women are exceptionally daring and dangerous and show special cruelty.

The trends in violent crime by young people are also unfavorable as a whole. It is young people who most frequently commit such crimes as rape, theft, robbery, bodily injury, and hooliganism.

Young people typically show heightened excitability, impulsiveness, and aggressiveness and this in combination with poor social control of their behavior and inadequate development of the habits of "slowing down" the emotions sometimes create conditions in which they commit bold, cruel crimes against the individual; many of them are group crimes. Socially defective informal groups of young people with aggressive tendencies in the behavior of their participants (such as the unfortunately well-known "motalki" of Kazan), with an inclination toward drunkenness, drug addiction, hooliganism, and debauchery, present a special danger. In this connection serious attention should also be given to such informal associations of young people as, for example, the "fanatic" fans of sports groups, "rockers", "punkers", and "metallists", karate, kung fu, and ushu groups, and others. We also must not underestimate the criminal danger of nationalistic tendencies among young people, which is illustrated in particular by recent events in Alma-Ata, Sumgait, Nagornyy Karabakh, and the Baltic region. The "grandfather" phenomenon in the Army is very alarming.

All these circumstances must be taken into account in working out measures to fight violent crime.

There is an increase in the proportion of violent criminals who have various pathological mental deviations that do not make them incompetent (debility, neurosis, psychopathologies, sexual deviations, and others). To a large extent this is linked to alcoholism and drug addiction. According to figures from our studies one out of 3-4 murderers at the present time has these or other psychological deviations, while in the early 1960's it was one out of 6-7.

The increase in the proportion of violent crimes committed for gain draws attention.

In recent times law-enforcing organs have increasingly encountered dangerous organized groups of criminals who commit serious (often extremely daring and cruel) offenses against the individual during robberies and acts of banditry. Characteristic features are a comparatively protracted period of action, the presence of experienced organizers who are recidivists and professional criminals, careful planning of the criminal actions, weapons, sophistication in methods of performing the criminal actions, heightened conspiratorial practices, concealment of antisocial behavior, and the like. At the same time, there are also frequent cases of unpremeditated offenses against the individual arising from the desire to get money for drinking, to buy drugs, to buy certain scarce items, and so on.

Most of the violent crimes (about two-thirds of the homicides and serious bodily injuries) are committed in the sphere of domestic relations because of various interpersonal conflicts. Under contemporary conditions when drunkenness is increasingly "moving" from public places to apartments and dormitories and becoming "domestic", the number of such crimes may increase. According to data from a study done in the base region, one out of every 2-3 domestic murders is committed in a family, one out of five is a result of an argument with neighbors, and almost one out of three arises during leisure time. In this situation two-thirds of the victims are people who knew the criminal well: his relatives, including one-third of them spouses and co-habitants. The basic causes of these crimes are arguments, fights, and hostile relations based on family troubles and housing-domestic conflicts.

There is a stable trend toward decline in the proportion of violent crimes in the sphere of public leisure. Thus, in the base region in the early 1960's the proportion of homicides in this sphere was about one-third, while by the start of the 1980's it had dropped to one-seventh. These crimes are basically committed from hooligan motives. The proportion of violent crimes in public places has also declined, which indicates, among other things, a certain increase in the effectiveness of the activity of internal affairs organs to protect public order.

In the 1970's the law enforcement organs and community relaxed the struggle against hooliganism in many regions of the country. At the same time the indicators for recorded instances of hooliganism dropped sharply. However, special studies confirm that this was a decrease on paper only, not in reality. Criminologists observed long ago that a relaxation of the fight against hooliganism leads to growth in serious violent crimes, and vice versa. This can be clearly traced on the statistical level. The step-up in the struggle against hooliganism in 1983-1984 had a large part in the decline in serious crimes against the individual in subsequent years.

Prospects for the fight against violent crime. An analysis of the trends in violent crime illustrates a fairly critical situation in the fight against it and necessitates search for

and development of more refined means and methods in order to make this fight more effective. Using the capabilities of target program management seems very promising. The need to develop and consistently implement comprehensive target programs on a national and regional level that encompass the entire sphere of the fight against crime and include a set of interrelated structural programs or subprograms (for example, programs to fight against violent, mercenary crime and so on) is a long-standing one.

We can single out several basic directions of the fight against violent crime on the specialized criminological and criminal law levels.

—*Consistent and persistent fight against drunkenness and drug use on the basis of clear and realistic goals.* Special attention here should be given to malicious drinkers and drug addicts who are prone to aggressive-violent actions and hooliganism. It should be considered here that stepping up the fight against drunkenness in light of well-known party and government decisions caused it to a significant degree to shift to the sphere of domestic and personal life. This circumstance can lead to an increase in the number of violent crimes in a domestic setting.

—*Intensification of the fight against legal offenses committed on the basis of family and other domestic conflicts.* The effectiveness of this activity depends greatly on organizing a well-thought out mechanism to gather and systematize information on informal mutual relations in particular families, among neighbors and acquaintances, and on more complete records of troubled families and persons who are inclined to domestic violent excesses, threaten potential victims with physical reprisal and so on, and on taking decisive steps in advance to prevent and stop crimes on this basis. Such steps should be taken with not only individuals, but domestic groups as a whole. It is important to ensure irreversible accountability for threatening homicide, torture, deliberately causing bodily injury of different degrees of seriousness, beating, and other crimes which frequently precede the commission of serious violent offenses against the individual.

—*Ensuring a decisive and effective fight against hooliganism and other violations of public order.* The main thing here is to prevent these criminal actions. The irreversibility of legal accountability is a substantial crime-preventing factor which obstructs the recurrence of hooliganism and its development into such crimes. For this reason we should oppose proposals to decriminalize undefined hooliganism (Part 1, Article 206 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) which are being made in connection with development of the new criminal code. Implementing this could lead to an increase in serious violent and other dangerous crimes.

—*Activation of the fight against the various forms of social parasitism.* They operate as significant crime-causing factors in the determination of violent crimes. Along with measures to improve prevention of this style of life (especially early prevention) the appropriate legal means should be used more decisively.

—*Intensification of the fight against recidivist and professional crime.* It is extremely important to increase the effectiveness of the activity of correction labor institutions. In our opinion it would be wise for places of incarceration to organize separate maintenance of persons who have committed violent crimes from other categories of convicts because the specific features of this group of criminals demand special methods of corrective indoctrination. We should improve the practices used in early release from punishment and administrative supervision and create conditions for successful social adaptation and resocialization of persons released from places of incarceration.

In connection with the development of the new criminal code which is now under way it would be useful to review the question of whether the articles of the Criminal Code on accountability for violent crimes should include as a qualifying feature such a circumstance as earlier commission of an identical or similar criminal action.¹⁴ In this way the recidivist who has specialized in violent crimes would receive a proper legal evaluation.

—*Stepping up activity to break up antisocial groups,¹⁵ and also criminal groups, and intensification of the fight against organized crime.* The existing criminal law does not create adequate conditions for the fight against organized crime. The new Fundamentals of Criminal Law must decide the question of such dangerous types of complicity as the organized criminal groups and criminal society, and the new criminal codes of the Union Republics should envision accountability for organizing criminal groups and for active participation in them.

—*Protecting citizens against criminal offenses by persons suffering from mental illnesses and sexual deviations.* Above all it is important to ensure complete identification and records of persons with mental anomalies whose behavior and way of life create the possibility of violent crimes and also to take effective preventive measures with them.

—*More effective preventive action with persons with a heightened degree of "victimicity".* Individual measures to prevent "victimicity" should be based, among other things, on identifying potential victims¹⁶ and preventing them from immoral or illegal provocative behavior.

—*Activating the fight against cases of illegal manufacture, sale, storage, and possession of cold weapons and firearms.* There must be complete records of hunting guns, proper storage of them, and confiscation in cases

envisioned by normative enactments. It is important, on the one hand, to encourage persons who are illegally keeping weapons to turn them in voluntarily and, on the other hand, to bring guilty persons to accountability under Article 218 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

—*Ensuring irreversible accountability for violent crimes and careful differentiation and individualization of accountability.* Because the negative tendencies toward violent crime reviewed above are related not to outward but to "internal" factors (growth in the social danger of actions and the personality of the guilty persons) it is necessary to intensify the harshness of criminal repression against malicious, dangerous criminals.

Refinement of specialized criminological and criminal law measures in the fight against violent crime is important, but it is not enough. It was said long ago that "the best criminal policy was and continues to be social policy".¹⁷ Successes in this area will depend greatly on the revolutionary restructuring now taking place in our country, implementation of the party program to raise the material and cultural standard of the Soviet people, consistent democratization of social life, overcoming bureaucratic-authoritarian methods of administration, expanding glasnost, changing the moral climate, and the triumph of the principles of social justice. In this connection I would like to emphasize the special crime-prevention significance of measures aimed at overcoming the attitude that a person is nothing but a material resource and aimed at improving working conditions, in particular reducing manual, unskilled, and heavy physical labor wherever possible,¹⁸ increasing the material interest in labor, further strengthening labor and public discipline, and improving relations in the family and in the domestic and leisure spheres.

On this level it is hard to overestimate the role of purposeful work to "humanize" people themselves, to achieve spiritual rebirth, indoctrinate conscience in them, instill them with lofty social and personal ideals, and purify them morally. The restructuring which is underway in our society creates the necessary preconditions for this work, but it makes special, heightened demands of every person.

Footnotes

1. "Study Democracy, Confirm Legality," KOMMUNIST, No 5, p 13. The documents of the 19th All-Union Party Conference also speak of the need to solidify guarantees of the inviolability of the individual (see "Materialy XIX Vsesoyuznoy konferentsii KPSS" [Materials of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU], Moscow, 1988, pp 25, 27, 39, 146).

2. See V. N. Kudryavtsev, I. I. Karpets, and B. V. Korobeynikov (editors), "Kurs sovetskoy kriminologii: Preduprezhdeniye prestupnosti" [Course of Soviet Criminology: Prevention of Crime], Moscow, 1986, p 176.

3. See L. D. Gaukhman, "Problemy ugolovno-pravovoy borby s nasilstvennymi prestupleniyami v SSSR" [Problems of the Criminal Law Struggle against Violent Crimes in the USSR], Saratov, 1981, p 22.

4. Ibid.

5. See "Kurs...", op. cit., p 176.

6. See V. B. Olshanskiy, "A Start Has Been Made. What Next?" SOTS. ISSLEDOVANIYA, 1987, No 1, pp 16-17.

7. "Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS. 27-28 yanvarya 1987 g." [Materials of the 27-28 January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee], Moscow, 1987, p 12.

8. The figures are taken from USSR Minister of Internal Affairs A. V. Vlasov's article "Guarding Public Order" (KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1988, p 50).

9. In 1981-1984 growth in convictions for these "less dangerous" crimes was observed.

10. See PRAVDA 13 April 1988.

11. Hereafter referred to as the "base region."

12. "Marginality" is a sociological concept that designates that a person occupies an intermediate, unstable, "borderline" position between particular social groups, which has a definite impact on his mental makeup. Marginal persons are typified by character traits that are significant in causing crime, such as susceptibility to frustration, aggressiveness, egocentrism, and others (see "Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar" [Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary], Moscow, 1983, p 341).

13. As noted in the 2 April 1988 decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the "commission of cruel acts of violence in a number of places" aroused special concern.

14. For more detail on this see E. F. Pobegaylo, "Problems of Differentiation of Criminal Accountability for Serious Violent Crimes," in the book "Sovershenstvovaniye pravovoykh mer borby s prestupnostyu" [Refinement of Legal Measures in the Fight against Crime], Vladivostok, 1986, pp 25-26.

15. We have in mind socially defective groups of young people, associations of people with criminal records who are not working or going to school, follow an empty way of life, live off others, abuse alcoholic beverages and narcotics, and are inclined to sexual depravity.

16. Above all family despots and tyrants, domestic abusers, alcoholics and drug addicts, debauchers, prostitutes, homosexuals, parasites, persons with mental anomalies, and others.

17. A. N. Traykin, "Ugolovnoye pravo. Chast Obshchaya" [Criminal Law. General Part], Moscow, 1929, p 172.

18. According to figures from our research a significant proportion of violent criminals (40-50 percent) have fairly low work skill levels.

Uzbek Health Minister on Republic's Public Health Problems

18300077 Tashkent KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian No 7, Jul 88 pp 27-32

[Article by S. Bakhramov, UzSSR Minister of Health: "Public Health in Uzbekistana: Problems and Prospects"]

[Text] The plan of acceleration worked out by the party envisions realization of major social programs, including in the field of public health. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "Basic Directions of Development of Work to Protect Public Health and Restructure the USSR Public Health System in the 12th Five-Year Plan and the Period Until the Year 2000" emphasizes that the party and state consider it a matter of paramount importance to protect and strengthen the health of Soviet people, lengthen their lives and creative activity, and significantly improve the quality of medical care.

The problems of public health in our republic have been discussed a number of times at the Uzbek CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet, and the republic government. Along with positive aspects note has been taken of significant shortcomings in the organization of treatment-preventive and pharmaceutical care, training of medical cadres, and development of the physical facilities of public health institutions.

In the 70 years of Soviet power a well-organized public health service has taken shape in Uzbekistan, which today has significant physical and personnel capabilities. But as the result of stagnation phenomena in the 1970's and early 1980's, the level of the public health system—its technical supply, planning, organization of treatment and diagnostic work, and so on—in our republic (and in the country as a whole) failed to meet the contemporary needs of the population and the demands of the scientific-technical revolution.

What must be done to fundamentally improve the state of affairs in this area? The first thing needed to improve the public health system is to increase capital investments in it and renounce quantitative indicators. In addition, to sharply improve the quality of medical care we should take effective steps toward a strengthening of disease prevention, introduction by stages of dispensary

service for the entire population, a rise in the level of professional training of medical cadres, and a rise in the sophistication of medical service and pharmaceutical support.

In conformity with the Basic Directions of Development of Work to Protect Public Health, disease prevention remains the primary direction of the Soviet public health system. The Uzbek sanitary-epidemiological service is leading the fight against environmental pollution and disruption of the ecological balance and views this work as one of its chief tasks in disease prevention activity.

Hygienic recommendations for the present day have been developed to reduce air pollution of the air basin of the Angren-Almalyk Territorial Production Complex; this reduced the incidence of disease among children of this region to two-thirds its former level. More than 200 environmental quality standards have been introduced in recent years, more than 250 methodological documents and sanitary rules are in effect, and maximum allowable concentrations have been ratified for about 105 harmful substances and 15 mixtures of them which contaminate air, water, and soil. These standards are widely applied by the republic sanitary-epidemiological service.

Despite this, the atmospheric air and storage and transportation of mineral fertilizer, pesticides, and public catering and food industry facilities remain unsatisfactory to the present day. For example, 35,000 sources of harmful emissions into the atmosphere are found at 471 industrial enterprises, and only 55 percent of them have gas and dust trapping equipment. Harmful substances in concentrations that exceed allowable norms by factors of 4-26 are emitted in Almalyk, Chirchik, Fergana, Navoi, and other cities, and also by a number of enterprises of the USSR Ministries of Mineral Fertilizer Production, Nonferrous Metallurgy, and Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and the UzSSR Ministry of Energy and Electrification. An analysis of the incidence of disease in the population of nine large industrial cities of the republic showed that it rises 2-3 times with an increase in the contamination of atmospheric air.

The low level of sanitary sophistication and domestic hygiene is a factor that hurts the health of rural inhabitants. Violations of the rules for application of toxic chemicals and mineral fertilizers and sanitary-hygienic requirements for storage of food products and failure to follow correct procedures in preparing food lay the grounds for outbreaks of large-scale poisoning, which often ends fatally.

Prevention of infectious diseases demands special attention. Despite a tendency to decline (21.1 cases per 100,000 population) there were outbreaks of typhoid fever and paratyphus in Kashka-Darya, Dzhizak, Tashkent, Bukhara, Surkhan-Darya, and Navoi oblasts in 1987. It should be recognized that the incidence of

intestinal infections is being "maintained" by inadequate medical measures. Thus, cases of tardy identification and hospitalization of sick persons, failure to take blood tests promptly, poor-quality disinfection work, and violations in doing inoculations and phage work have not, unfortunately, been eliminated yet.

At the same time we cannot deny that the main cause of the high predisposition of the republic's population to acute intestinal diseases is unsatisfactory supply of good-quality drinking water, especially in the rural rayons of the Karakalpak ASSR and Khorezm, Bukhara, Navoi, and Kashka-Darya oblasts. The actual consumption of economic and drinking water is 51 liters per person per 24 hours, while the norm is 200-250 liters. Use of bad water from wells and open waters that have been contaminated by various kinds of runoff promotes the incidence of not only typhoid fever and paratyphus, but also viral hepatitis.

We must take a radical approach to solving the problem of supplying inhabitants of the republic with drinking water by building large water lines and developing the existing system of water lines and artesian wells. And in the meantime in certain regions the shortage of drinking water could be partially compensated for by deliveries of bottled (in 1-2 liter bottles) spring water, which is found in a number of locales. This method, which at first glance seems expensive, pays for itself in full, for the losses to the state from infectious diseases reach a colossal figure.

The dispensary system is assigned an important place in preventing disease. It proposes an annual medical examination for each inhabitant in order to identify people with the early manifestations of various diseases and also those subject to the effect of environmental factors or a way of life that is harmful to the health, and taking medical steps. The conduct of annual medical exams is to be done in two stages: before 1991 chronically ill persons, children and adolescents, students in school, pregnant women, war veterans, and workers and employees of certain sectors of industry and agriculture are to be examined, and then by 1995 all the population of the republic will be examined. On 1 January 1988 the dispensary system had already encompassed 3,763,000 persons, including 1.4 million children.

At the same time the level of dispensary exams is still low in Dzhizak, Kashka-Darya, Navoi, Surkhan-Darya, Tashkent, and Khorezm oblasts, and explanatory work among the population on the importance of this activity is not done on the proper level everywhere. Republic health organs today face the challenge of raising the dispensary system to a qualitatively new level, relying on the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

Establishing a healthy way of life is an important factor in making preventive work more effective.

The decree adopted in 1985 by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on measures to stop drunkenness and alcoholism showed enormous concern for the health of Soviet people. Carrying out this decree 23 narcology dispensaries and 175 offices have been organized in the republic today. Twelve of the dispensaries have opened offices for anonymous treatment of victims of alcoholism and persons who abuse alcohol, and in Tashkent, Andizhan, Bukhara, Dzhizak, Namangan, Karshi, Samarkand, Termeze, Fergana, Urgench, and Nukus there are cost-accounting anonymous offices. The effectiveness of the work of the narcology offices can be judged by the fact that not a single return patient has been seen among those who were prone to alcohol and went through treatment.

Unfortunately, the narcology dispensaries in the Karakalpak ASSR and Syr-Darya and Fergana oblasts are housed in poorly-suited quarters. Many narcology offices of central rayon hospitals are in similar conditions. The assignments to set up narcology departments have gone unfulfilled at enterprises such as the Tashselmash Plant, the Tashkent Tractor Plant imeni 50-letiya SSSR Production Association, the Sredazkabel Production Association, the Sredazelektroapparat Production Association, the Navoiyazot Production Association, the Tashkent Electrical Equipment Plant, the Fergana Oil Refinery, and others. The efforts of the republic ministry of health to solve this problem have not, unfortunately, received correct understanding and appropriate support from several ministries, departments, and associations, although from the standpoint of production interests they themselves should be the initiators in setting up narcology departments and offices at their subordinate enterprises.

One of the paramount tasks of the narcological service is to perform expert examination of alcoholic, narcotic, and toxic intoxication. Expert examination offices that work around the clock have been set up at 15 narcology dispensaries and at a number of central rayon hospitals. In addition, the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate of the UzSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs together with the republic Ministry of Health has organized mobile narcology brigades.

But the work being done is plainly not enough. And although 49 doctors were sent for advanced study in narcology in 1986, 41 in 1987, and 40 in 1988, still the proportion of narcologist-physicians is only 1.7 per 100,000 population (the USSR figure is 1.9).

It should be noted that against the background of declining alcoholism (one of the characteristic features of which is a decline in the number of acute psychoses), a tendency has been observed recently toward growth in the number of cases of drug addiction and use of toxic substances, especially among adolescents. To strengthen preventive work the position of adolescent narcologist should be added to the staff schedules of narcology dispensaries.

Overall, as noted in the Basic Directions of Development of Work to Protect Public Health, establishing a healthy way of life for each person and the whole society comes down to rooting out harmful habits, following a regimen of work and rest, regular physical exercise and sports, instilling cultured behavior and diet, and raising sanitary sophistication.

The poor quality of medical care to the population of the republic is caused by a serious gap in diagnostic work. The explanation is that treatment and preventive institutions do not have adequate equipment for ultrasound, radioisotope, x-ray/contrast, and other testing methods and also lack specialists who have mastered these techniques, especially in the rural areas. The UzSSR Ministry of Health is organizing diagnostic centers to eliminate these shortcomings. The republic consultation-diagnosis center at Clinic No 1 of the Tashkent State Medical Institute and oblast diagnostic centers in Andizhan, Gulistan, Karshi, Namangan, Samarkand, Urgench, and Fergana are already in operation today. Highly effective equipment and medical technology as well as the most qualified specialists are concentrated in them. Based on experience we can say confidently that these diagnostic centers will make it possible to significantly raise the quality of medical service, especially to the rural population.

The next important question of practical public health is specialized medical care. Because it is poorly developed, a certain number of patients are sent to central scientific research institutes and clinics. Therefore the policy has been adopted of setting up specialized centers. Among others, that same Clinic No 1 of the Tashkent State Medical Institute operates centers for rehabilitation of impaired hearing and speech and for treating patients with exogenous intoxication, while the Scientific Research Institute of Hematology and Blood Transfusion has a center for anemia patients, and centers for detoxification and laser surgery have opened at the Tashkent branch of the All-Union Scientific Center of Surgery of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. Inter-oblast centers for nephrology with hemodialysis, for pulmonology, and others have been opened in Samarkand, Syr-Darya, and Bukhara oblasts. There are already 47 specialized centers operating in Uzbekistan today, and information about them has been sent to all local public health organs. In connection with the need for further development of specialized medical care these organs should complete the reclassification, which has already begun, of general internal medicine, surgery, and pediatric beds into specialized ones.

The republic still has a significant shortage of various types of permanent beds. For example, there are less than 10,000 beds for 4 million people working in industry and transportation. Despite this, the development of medical-sanitary units is going very slowly. Thus, there are about 50 large enterprises in Tashkent, but only 17 of

them have medical-sanitary units. Workers and employees of enterprises that do not have their own medical-sanitary units use the services of city and rayon treatment-preventive institutions, which are already overloaded. But the Health program envisions building eight medical-sanitary units in Tashkent alone during the 12th Five-Year Plan. At the present time only the unit at Glavtashkentstroy has been opened.

In recent decades the practice has become established of covering the shortage of beds by packing them in more tightly, which worsened compliance with sanitary-hygienic norms at hospitals and led to outbreaks of infections within hospitals. The task has been posed of installing new beds only in permanent hospitals being introduced into use, allocating part of their space to disperse the existing network of beds.

Promising directions in improving hospital care to the population are further construction of multiprofile and specialized hospitals and organization of departments (wards) for resuscitation and intensive care and for day treatment in them. Our republic too is developing these lines of action.

Outpatient-polyclinic care to the population, a system that is still understaffed today, demands serious attention. There are up to 2,000 adults per district doctor today instead of the prescribed 1,700. Because of the shortage of space not all polyclinics have set up departments for restorative treatment and offices for vocational rehabilitation and mechanotherapy or organized acupuncture treatment. The diagnostic tests and treatment procedures used in the polyclinics do not always meet contemporary demands. Poor organization of outpatient-polyclinic care often leads to unfounded hospitalization of patients. Suffice it to say that up to one-quarter of the population of the republic have to be put in a hospital bed each year, although 25-30 percent would not need it if the quality of diagnostic and treatment procedures in the polyclinics were higher.

In Uzbekistan, where more than half of the population is rural, there must be accelerated development of the rural public health system. Above all this means improving the physical facilities of medic-midwife posts, rural outpatient offices, and central rayon and rural district hospitals. If these primary public health institutions are going to be able to organize diagnostic-treatment work and the preventive medicine process on a modern level, it is essential to build them by standard designs or rebuild them and bring them into line with sanitary norms.

Steps are being taken to bring specialized care to the rural population; the disproportion between general and specialized beds is being eliminated. In the last 2 years the number of gastroenterological beds has increased by roughly one-third and neurological beds by 20 percent; there are now more than 2,800 pulmonological beds in use in the republic. Electrocardiograms can now be

received by telephone in Andizhan, Bukhara, Kashka-Darya, Samarkand, Syr-Darya, and Fergana oblasts using the Volna remote system. People with cardiovascular illnesses can now consult quickly with skilled obst specialists without leaving the rayon.

Nineteen polyclinics have set up "home hospitals," and many oblasts, cities, and rural rayons now have day-time hospitals for adults and children. During the day the patients there are able to receive the same treatment as in ordinary hospitals, but in the evening they return home, to their accustomed environment. This has a very positive psychological effect and shortens the period of treatment. The daytime hospitals, in our opinion, have a good future.

Work is being done in the republic to supply modern medical equipment to treatment-preventive institutions. During 1985-1987 a total of more than 70 million rubles worth of new equipment was installed, including ultrasound, Doppler, and cryogenic devices, specialized computer tomographs, radio-immune gamma cameras with computers, various kinds of radio isotope equipment, automatic laboratory complexes, "artificial kidney" machines, and much more.

Steps are being taken to improve the diet in hospitals; in the last 2 years 70 food units, 25 vegetable storage areas, and 60 children's milk kitchens were built and rebuilt. During this same period 153 pharmacies were organized for better supply of medicines to the population; additional supplies of some scarce medications are purchased outside the republic each year.

A certification of managers of public health institutions was conducted in Uzbekistan in 1986-1987. It was found, among other things, that almost 10 percent of them did not meet contemporary demands. They were all released from their positions, and in their place new, mostly young, managers were selected. Most of the doctors also went through certification to determine skill categories.

To improve the quality of medical service to rural inhabitants and give more help to practicing doctors, qualified specialists from the teaching staffs at medical VUZes and employees of scientific research institutes of the UzSSR Ministry of health and of branches of science centers and institutes of the USSR Ministry of health and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences which operate in Tashkent are assigned to each rayon of the republic. They give consultation, operate on patients, teach practicing doctors modern diagnostic techniques, and help introduce the latest advances in treatment procedures. Although this work demands further activation and refinement, it has already exerted a positive influence on the organization of treatment-preventive care in the local areas. At the request of the republic Ministry of Health specialists from the country's central

institutes conduct traveling lecture series on the most pressing issues for the region. Nine such series were conducted in 1986, for example, and in 1987 there were 10.

At the same time we cannot fail to mention that some managers of treatment-preventive institutions and medical workers sometimes are rude and inattentive to patients, and instances of extortion, waste, and theft still have not been rooted out. Violators of the norms of morality and financial and labor discipline are held more strictly accountable today. Efforts are being made to raise the quality and effectiveness of indoctrination work in medical collectives.

The question of improving the physical facilities of the Uzbek public health system remains critical. In 1991-1995 plans call for increasing capital investments for its development by a factor of 2-2.5, and up to 40 percent of the money will be spent on supplying the new sites with modern medical technology. In the 12th-13th Five-Year Plans the expenditure norms for medications at hospitals will increase by a factor of 1.8-2.2 (factors of 2-3 at polyclinics), while for diet the increase will be by a factor of 1.5-2.5, and for purchasing new gear and furniture—a factor of 2.

Restructuring in public health is inconceivable without a change in the approach of medical cadres to their assigned work and a rise in their qualifications. To achieve these goals it is planned to evaluate the work of medical specialists by their competence, conscientiousness, and intensive indicators of their labor. Demands for training of doctors at higher educational institutions will rise and more attention will be devoted to their practical ability to render medical care. Granting broad rights to the managers of public health institutions and organs will make it possible to hold them more accountable for their assigned work, support maneuvering with material and financial resources and cadres at all levels, and make it possible to eliminate formalism and bureaucratism more resolutely.

The challenges which face public health today are large ones. To meet them the republic Ministry of Health is working out additional measures. But the problems of public health are all-state problems, and they can only be solved through the joint efforts of the organs of public health, other ministries and departments, and also party and soviet organs.

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New Attitudes Toward Soviet Emigrants Noted
18000137a Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in
Russian 4 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Ignatov, under rubric "One of the Topics of the Day": "A New View on Emigration"]

[Text] The names of the best-known emigres and, in general, questions pertaining to the life of those who

have left the Soviet Union, are of great interest to society today. Recently two popular publications—OGONEK magazine and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA weekly—published conversations with Viktor Nekrasov, who died recently in Paris. Television showed M. Baryshnikov dancing and M. Rostropovich conducting a concert. Yuriy Lyubimov came to the capital to attend the premiere of his rehabilitated play at the Theater on Taganka. It was even proposed that Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn be elected to the board managing the new Memorial Association that is being created to immortalize the memory of the victims of Stalinism. With what is this burst of curiosity linked?

For a long time, leaving the Soviet Union was a problem. When people emigrated, it was though they had dropped out of sight for people in their Homeland. With the passage of time, an exception was for a few people—those who had become renowned.

However, the light of acknowledgement at home did not burn bright until after their death. People began writing about "former Soviet citizens." Their relatives proved to be "persona grata," and they were not only allowed, but were urged, to trade in the celebrities' name and creativity. Sometimes the situation went so far as the honorary return homeward of the remains of Great Prodigal Sons. And thus the strange cycle of emigration closed.

Today the situation has changed and continues to change. First, persons who want to leave the country can do so practically unhindered. Last year there proved to be 40,000 of such people, which is an amount 25 times greater than prior to perestroika. This figure continues to grow, but specialists feel that it will stabilize at approximately 60,000-70,000. For a country with a population of 285 million, this represents an insignificant figure—0.00025 percent.

Secondly, return has become possible for persons for whom return previously had seemed to be impossible. The number of re-emigres comes to the hundreds, but the number of those who wish to do so, or who are weighing the possibility, is much larger. And, finally, thirdly, one can notice more and more frequently changes also in the attitude toward recent inhabitants of our country or its former citizens who are living abroad. It is there, I would say, that the process of normalization of relations is under way. What are we dealing with?

For many years, under conditions of the fierce confrontation between Soviet Russia and the capitalist West, a person's leaving the homeland of socialism was viewed as betrayal or deserting a ship that was waging a desperate and just struggle, and that pertained to every departure, even those that did not have any political or ideological motives. Incidentally, that was the attitude taken to the emigration of the absolute majority of the persons who left the Soviet Union during the past 20 years, who were aspiring primarily for material prosperity and success in their career. In the public's mind, failure to make that decision was reinforced historically:

both large-scale waves of emigration that affected the USSR—the flight of the “Whites” after the revolution, and the second wave after the end of the war—evoked a negative reaction among the population.

Western politicians used the situation in their own way: those who had left were identified as heroes. As a result the problem of leaving the country was converted into a political battle, and the future or recent emigres were turned into pawns in that battle. The situation went so far that many persons made a name and money for themselves simply by expressing the desire to cross the Soviet border. The confrontation had not yet retreated into the past, but its severity and the hullabaloo about it decreased sharply.

In our country today there is also a different understanding of the sensational, or even scandalous departures by famous cultural figures, whom, as recently as yesterday, we unhesitatingly and automatically relegated to the camp of our enemies. Books are being printed, movies are being shown, plays are being staged, and canvases painted by “renegades” and “slanderers” are being brought out of hiding or from abroad. “Arrested” books are being returned from the restricted reading rooms to the library racks and bookstore shelves. The press, radio, and television discuss the fates of unknown countrymen living abroad.

But the normalization of ties and attitudes with the “formers” must take into consideration the existing realities in their full volume. There is no need here for any excesses. The fact that a person at one time decided to go to the West from Brest or Chop should not cause anyone to change his evaluation of the contribution that that person made to the life of his country. But there is also no reason to include among one’s friends and allies those who actually count themselves among the opponents of socialism.

Yes, we should admit and correct any blame. Yes, we should maintain civilized relations. But, obviously, we should not pray to false idols or create them.

Mine Worker Protests Unsafe Conditions, Goes on Hunger Strike

18000137b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent A. Kalinin, Donetsk, under rubric “Official Trip In Response to an Alarming Letter”: “Hunger Strike: This Was the Last Chance for a Young Specialist to Attract Attention to the Dangers Confronting the Miners”]

[Text] Vladislav Lyushakov, an 18-year-old mining foreman from Donetsk, has gone on a hunger strike. He gave notice of this to the mine committee and the director. He decided to go on the hunger strike without leaving his job, in order not to give anyone any cause to punish him.

He has explained that he is protesting against management’s arbitrariness and their illegal act of disciplining him and making him material responsible.

At the Mine imeni Zasyadko that event was viewed variously. Some people said, “Right on!”, offered their signatures as support, and gave advice concerning where to send letters. Others ridiculed him, saying, “He’s a fool! What does he think he’s going to achieve? The weakest goes to the wall.”

The fact, it must be stated, is unpleasant. The mine is an enterprise that is well-known throughout the country. It is an advanced enterprise and has been the initiator of nationwide undertakings. And now this embarrassing situation! An attempt was made to get Lyushakov to change his mind—but he completely refused. A commission came from the association. Two orders were canceled as being illegal, but no instances of prejudice were revealed. And so everything became calm. Now everything that happened is explained as being nothing else but the capricious act of the young miner foreman. The guy didn’t know what he was doing.

But Lyushakov did know. And he wanted one thing—to attract attention to the mine. But it was not simply to the mine, but to those violations that are being made repeatedly and that can result in human casualties at any moment.

This is an excerpt from Vladislav’s letter to the editor: “People say from the rostrum that we do not need coal that is covered with blood, but actually they can fire a person who has refused to go down into the inferno because safety requirements are not being observed. People close their eyes to the crudest violations that can end in tragedy.”

He is short, thin, and shy. He has confessed that, secretly, he writes poems and has promised to show them. How could a person like that decide to mutiny? “Isn’t it strange?” I ask. He replies, “The evil has taken over. But I say that my conscience is clean. They tell me, ‘Just try to prove this and no one will even look at it.’ But I got fed up.”

Vladislav had graduated from a mining technicum and had had five years of working in the mine when a comrade died right before his eyes. That sudden tragic death affected him so much that the very next day he told the director that he wanted to quit. “But why do you want to leave?” Ye. Zvyagilskiy asked, trying to make the fellow see things reasonably. “We can transfer you to the VTB as a foreman.” So Lyushakov agreed.

The abbreviation VTB is given to the Ventilation and Safety Measures sector—the chief monitoring subdivision at the mine. Lyushakov assumed that he would engage in work safety. Now he understands that he was, to say the least, naive.

"The longwalls are filled with gas, there are frequent instances when the methane is ignited, there is not enough air, and the temperature is high. At the same time there are not enough fire extinguishers or fire hoses, and a lot of time is spent in getting people to their work site..."

Vladislav is not the only person who is sounding the alarm. Another person who has been shouting for several years at various levels concerning the crudest violations of the work safety measures in the mining industry is A. Platonov, former VTB foreman at the Mine imeni Skochinskiy. A person who previously announced a hunger strike was a mining foreman at the Mine imeni Abakumov, whose name I shall not give because he has been deemed to be sick. Potentially dangerous conditions were mentioned in letters to the editor from miners at the Donbassantratsit and Krasnodonugol associations, Voroshilovgrad Oblast.

Problems in protecting the miners' labor were also attested to by the numerous emergencies and accidents. Every million tons of coal mined, for example, in Donetsk Oblast, takes the life of two, or sometimes three, miners. Those are the statistics. Emergencies occur most frequently before holidays, when increased pledges are being fulfilled, or at the end of the year, when an attempt is being made to save the plan. All the major emergencies that have resulted in human casualties—at the Yasinovskaya-Glubokaya, Chaykino, Imeni Dmitrov, and Novogrodovskaya mines—are linked with the crudest violations of safety measures governing dust and gas. One can frequently see among the rather coarse-looking, coal-smearing men at the mine entrances weeping women with black kerchiefs on their heads.

When Vladislav Lyushakov was just getting into his new job, an explosion occurred at Yasinovskaya-Glubokaya. People died. Although, in theory, they were not supposed to die. But it turned out that the automatic protective devices had been carelessly put out of commission.

We wrote about that. We wrote that at the mines of Sovetskugol alone in Makeyevka, an inspection had revealed approximately 2000 different violations, and that, sooner or later, they would inevitably lead to an emergency.

That was at a time when in the coal industry there was an average of one inspector for every 7-8 workers—more than in any other branch.

Where had that person been on the eve of the emergency?

"Most likely, right nearby," Lyushakov answers. "And most likely, he sounded the alarm..."

The system to monitor the safety of mining operations, which was also written about by KOMSOMOLKA after the explosion at Yasinovskaya-Glubokaya, is a complicated and diversified one. The nondepartmental monitoring—state and trade-union—is small in size and exerts a weak influence on the situation. Public monitoring is not very powerful, although it is numerous. Essentially speaking, the agency that must be the most effective monitoring agency is the ventilation and safety measures service. For the oblast as a whole, this is about 5000 persons. And with an army like this, any violation should be a reportable incident.

But the unfortunate situation is that all these people today are only playing at enforcing safety measures, rather than actually enforcing them.

Lyushakov quickly understood the rules for that game. The effectiveness of his work was evaluated not by the final result, not by the number of work injuries or accidents in the sector assigned to him, but by the total number of points accumulated. Points for stopping operations at the longwall, for reports concerning violations, reports concerning violators... This evaluation system encouraged him, from day to day, not to find fewer violators at the mine, but more.

He also understood that there are different kinds of points. It is possible to shut down the longwalls but that method is not the most successful, because it promises constant conflicts. Everyone is linked by one thing—the plan—including Lyushakov himself, his chief, and the director: everyone. If there is going to be a plan, there will also be a bonus and decorations, and no judgments will be made about the victors. But every shutdown, every interference in the rates of coal production, caused a rapid response reaction. The brigade leader telephones the sector chief, who telephones the chief engineer, who telephones your chief... It is "wiser" not to notice any violators, but in order to create the appearance that you are doing your job, to make a deal with the sector chief to pretend that you have shut down the mine face and the things that you noted have been quickly eliminated.

But the simplest thing is to collect points by making reports on the miners.

Hence the attitude toward the mining foremen. There have been instances when the mining foremen were beaten up, or when their clothing was cut up in the locker room while they were working in the mine. And, needless to say, threats. It is for that reason that the people working at the VTB sectors are either quite young and inexperienced, or, on the contrary, are elderly, no longer capable of working in the mine, but who had to keep working to gain seniority, or are simply idlers. One person admitted, "I do absolutely nothing at the VTB, and I don't want to do even that." People at the mining-engineering inspectorate tried to convince me

that any state-monitoring worker who follows a VTB mining foreman will find a tremendous number of violations that he has either failed to report or did not want to report.

Do we need this kind of checker in the mine?

Valeriy Kuznetsov, brigade leader at the Krasnolimanskaya Mine and delegate to the 20th VLKSM Congress, stated outright at one of the recent conferences, "No, we don't need him." Under the conditions of cost accountability, the miners are not going to do the work for the idlers, and they are ready to take the monitoring functions into their own hands. He has many adherents at the most diverse levels. The VTB sector chiefs themselves say, "Our service, in the form in which it exists now, is not needed." They say that it should be reduced to 10-15 persons, and the service should be given the responsibility only of monitoring the dust and gas conditions. The remaining functions should be transferred to the mining foremen in the sectors, and to the workers.

At the Mine imeni Zasyadko, for example, I was frequently reminded of the undertaking of the Manekin brigade, which concluded with management a contract for the collective material and moral responsibility for the state of discipline and work-safety measures. At first glance this is an interesting matter, and I myself seized onto it at first. At the present time this initiative is spreading broadly and is being well propagandized, and information concerning the effectiveness of these contracts is being gathered...

But, essentially speaking, one game is being replaced by another. According to the reports, there has been a lowering of the level of work injuries and the amount of absenteeism, but actually it has happened that work injuries have been concealed and the violators have been fired retroactively or transferred to other brigades.

Incidentally, after the explosion at the Yasinovskaya-Glubokaya, we wrote about whether it is high time to take the ventilation and work-safety service out from under the monitoring by the mine management. Miners from the Artemugol Association in Gorlovka took that same proposal to Minugleprom. The proposal did not get any support. Why? I was told that in this instance the VTB mining foremen would be excluded from so-called List No. 1, losing definite benefits.

But it seems to me that it was not only concern for the mining foremen that guided the people in the ministry. Today it is practically impossible to work at the Donbass mines without violations of work safety.

Recently one could see in the most prominent places the slogan "The state plan is law, fulfillment of it is a duty, and overfulfillment is an honor," and people overfulfilled it. Counterplans and increased pledges became fashionable. The workload at the cleaning faces grew steadily from year to year. Most frequently it grew not at

the expense of new technology or new technological processes, but at the expense of "come on, come on!" Increased-production days became part of the production practice. First one Sunday, then two, and now all the Sundays have been made work days. The time for repairs and preventive maintenance has been reduced. As a result, today the technological capacities at the advanced coal enterprises have been overextended by a factor of 1.5-2.

Simultaneously with the increase in the planned capacities, the working conditions were made more complicated. The longwalls went deeper into the earth. There was a rise in temperature, an increase in the mining pressure, and an increase in the amount of gas present in the seams and in the threat of explosions during mining operations. The larger and more accessible seams were taken out of production, and the work was transferred to the thinner, trickier, more inconvenient ones which had previously been disregarded as the unpromising ones. There was an increase in expenditures. But the support with equipment and spare parts worsened.

The plans kept growing. It became more and more complicated to mine the coal.

How were the high indicators achieved? That's right, at the expense of work-safety conditions.

"Listen," I was told by V. Volkov, party committee secretary at the Mine imeni Zasyadko. "If Lyushakov shut down a mine face between there were not enough materials and I know that those materials are not available today either at the mine or at the association and no one knows when they will show up, do you really think that I will support Lyushakov?"

But, thank God, they have learned how to make compromises. If there is not enough metal supports, then the distance between the support frames will be slightly larger, and people will hope that you get through without the top of the shaft crashing down. You get through once or twice, and then you become used to it. If there is not enough equipment to provide gas protection, the apparatus is used to provide cruder protection. If the air-measurement sensor is activated, move it closer to the ventilator. Let's mine coal! More coal! Under these conditions the mine simply needs manual control. Take it out from under departmental subordination and suddenly one will see all the things that have not been done by the ministry, Gosplan, and Gosstab. In exactly this way the state acceptance system threw light on the organizational and technological violations and the insolvency of the technical control services at our plants and factories. And it is not accidentally, as has already been reported in the press, that the enterprises that are currently attempting to get rid of it first of all are those enterprises where the situation with regard to quality is the worst.

I can assume what reply will come in to the editorial office after this article appears. People will write that the Mine imeni Zasyadko is the leader in the branch, that the people there pay the most tremendous amount of attention to social questions, and build more housing than anywhere else. The well-developed subsidiary farm, the well-developed recreational facilities, the millions of rubles allocated every year for the protection of labor and for the providing of sanitation and personal services. And Lyushakov is just a troublemaker who doesn't want to work...

But I become acquainted with the results of the planned special inspection that was conducted here by the state mining-engineering inspectorate in August. The working areas in the mine are poorly ventilated, there is a large amount of gas in them, and supervision of the mine supports is carried out carelessly. The automatic instruments are placed at considerable distances from the point of extinguishment, providing unreliable information at the top.

Everyone knows this. And this has already resulted in explosions several times. It has led to casualties that cannot be justified by any labor victories or any number of tons of coal in excess of plan. But all of this is still continuing.

When Lyushakov announced his hunger strike, another VTB mining foreman—Communist Averyanov—unexpectedly joined in with him. A memorandum was distributed at the mine, saying, "In order to dispel the conjectures and rumors, we want to explain that we announced this hunger strike in a critical situation when we could see no other methods of fighting or attracting public attention... As a sign of protest against the violation of a person's rights to have guaranteed safe labor..."

They were fighting for the lives of their comrades.

Averyanov was given a severe reprimand that was to be entered in his party record card. "For having used incorrect fighting methods and for having discredited the Communist's moral code."

Current Nationalities Concerns in Uzbekistan Noted

18300069a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
16 Aug 88 p 2

[Article by F. Ishakov, published under the heading "Both National and International," "A Vital Question of Vital Life." Words/Passages in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] The Resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference states: "It is the patriotic and international duty of each citizen and each communist to protect and add to all that serves to unite Soviet society as the basis for the free development and flourishing of all the Soviet peoples, and to strengthen the might of our common fatherland." The

nationality question is a vital question of vital life. The key to successfully solving it lies in a harmonious reconciliation of the interests of each nation and nationality with the interests of all the Soviet people. This is the main thematic line of the materials which the editors intend to publish under the new heading "Both National and International."

Section of Communist Indoctrination

One of the most important spheres in the activities of our society is nationality relations. With good reason the state and problems of nationality relations were analyzed in a Leninist manner, frankly and from authentically internationalist positions at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the June (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

As is known, V.I. Lenin considered the nationality question the most difficult one after the question of political power. And one of his greatest contributions to world civilization was how during the elaboration of the first program theses for the new type of party on the nationality question as well as in the adopting (in March 1919) of the Second Party Program, in a major battle he defended and while still alive was able to actually show the solely correct, Marxist and, hence, internationalist approach to the nationality question is that it should be resolved in the interests of each people and nationality as well as the entire multinational country. Let us recall that in March 1919, V.I. Lenin for the first time used the concept of the "Soviet people" having given it a profoundly class content.

The implementation of Lenin's nationality policy played an enormous role in the destiny of all the 114 nations and nationalities of our country, but particularly in the fates of the peoples of the former Russian borderlands. While during the period of the capitalist development of Russia, only seven peoples had developed as nations, during the years of Soviet power, there have been 15 nations, including the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen, Karakalpak and others. The Russian people themselves, in playing the main role in resolving the nationality question in the USSR, have done a great deal to escape from Great-Russian Chauvinism which was inherited in the past by the bourgeoisie.

An unprejudiced reader, I would hope, would not accuse the author of these lines of overdoing it, for all that is stated above is merely a brief setting forth of one of the Soviet phenomena, the solving of the nationality question. The new version of the CPSU Program emphasizes that "the nationality question remaining from the past has been successfully settled in the Soviet Union. Characteristic of nationality relations in our country are both a further flourishing of the nations and nationalities as well as ongoing integration which is carried out on a basis of voluntariness, equality and fraternal collaboration. Here there must not be either any artificial forcing or restraining of the mature objective development trends. This development carries with it the complete unity of nations in the distant historical future." This

was particularly emphasized by M.S. Gorbachev in the report at the July (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "It scarcely need be proven that the nature of the development of nationality relations is of primary significance for our Union state and that nationality policy for our Communist Party and Soviet government is the most complicated policy and at the same time, important and essential. This is natural, for both economic, social and spiritual problems are bound closely together in this policy."

However, the notion which developed in the 1930s of an almost automatic spontaneous resolution to contradictions in the socialist economy for almost 50 years also determined the declarative approach of the party and state leadership to the sphere of nationality relations. It was felt that we had no problems in this question. It was forgotten that nationality relations are a vital question of vital life.

In actuality, the problems were growing and becoming acute both inside the nations as well as in the relations between them. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the violations in economic and cultural leadership and the general "residual principle" in the nation which prevailed during the years of stagnation toward the social sphere seriously restrained the development of a number of the multinational republics and the national regions.

At the same time, as was pointed out at the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "mistakes made in the area of nationality relations and their manifestations remained in the shadows and it was not permissible to talk about them. This led to negative consequences which must now be addressed." Unfortunately, there were numerous errors in the area of nationality policy, including the forced resettlement of the Crimean Tartars into Uzbekistan and the moving of the population of a number of areas of the Transcaucasus into Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. There were also problems in the study of Russian and other languages of the nation's peoples and so forth.

But the most serious error was the fact that party nationality policy over the last 40-45 years took absolutely no account of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the nationality question and the development of nationality relations are not ethnic problems but rather sociopolitical ones and the solution to them presupposes the overcoming of nationality differences as well as the socialist transformation of the life of each and every nation and nationality with the ongoing development of their reciprocal collaboration in all spheres of life.

The events in Alma-Ata and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have forced us to analyze soberly and critically both the problems of development in the individual nations as well as nationality relations as a whole. In this context the 19th Party Conference emphasized that it is important to see the entire real picture:

both the indisputable achievements and the obvious flaws, omissions and difficulties related to the nonresolution of specific socioeconomic questions. Much depends upon glasnost in an optimum solution to the nationality problems. The workers should know how their republic is developing and what place it holds in the national economic complex.

In recent decades Uzbekistan, due to the known causes, has seriously surrendered its positions in the national division of labor. The social status of the workers has deteriorated, particularly in the rural rayons of the republic, where a predominant portion of the indigenous population resides. Suffice it to say that precisely in the countryside is to be found the greatest shortage of preschool and medical facilities, schools and job sources. The per capita consumption of the main food products is lower than in the city and so forth. These shortcomings are easily projected onto the characteristics of the way of life among the various contingents of the population. In this regard, we cannot help but mention the following matters.

For more than 50 years, cotton has occupied over 80 percent of the irrigated land in Uzbekistan as well as in Tajikistan and Turkmenia. This has had a serious effect on the other sectors of agriculture, particularly on livestock raising and orchard raising, and has contributed to a deterioration in the ecological situation in the region. And certainly this is one of the factors in the development of nationality relations.

Nationality relations are a diverse process involving the development of the socialist community of all the nations and nationalities of the country and each republic, and for this reason their contacts and gravitation toward relations should be reciprocal. In this context it is worth recalling, for example, such a seemingly paradoxical fact that the colonial authorities in Turkestan (naturally, in their own interests) even provided material incentives for their officials to master, as was then said, the "indigenous" languages. In our times individual representatives of the European nationalities residing in the Central Asian Republics in the 1960s and 1970s, did not show even an elementary interest in languages, the customs and traditions of the local nationalities.

Serious attention must be paid to the questions of developing diverse contacts between the predominantly single-nationality (in each given locality) rural population and the multinational contingents of workers in the towns and settlements. This is all the more important as the industrial working class is the first and main creator and proponent of internationalist ideas and traditions.

I am convinced that a thorough study of the situation, a sober forecast of the arising phenomena, that is, a considering of all the mentioned problems in the course of carrying out the resolution adopted by the 19th All-Union Party Conference "On Nationality Relations"

will contribute to the authentic development of both each nation and nationality as well as international relations on the basis of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

We cannot pass over the fact that the supporters of dogmatic stereotypes—and unfortunately there still are many such—respond painfully to any demands related to the problems of social development, the economic situation, language policy and so forth. They in no way want to comprehend that it is impossible, as P.A. Chadayev said at one time, “to love one’s motherland with closed eyes, with sealed lips...and that the time of blind infatuation is over...” Moreover, in our days assertions are still heard about the supposedly surviving vestiges of feudal and clerical nationalism in the Central Asian Republics. This is the same as judging the nations from the shadows of their individual representatives. On the other hand, there are other extremes: exaggerating nationality aspects in the general historical process (which degenerates into national conceit), attempts to view the appearances of increased nationality self-awareness as nationalistic or authentic internationalism as a break with nationality values.

Under the conditions of Uzbekistan, unfortunately, elements of localism (which are akin to nationalism) and regionalism still survive and these have a negative influence on the national psychology of the Uzbek population, they do direct harm and split the nation.

Without in any way exaggerating specific nationality features and only because in Uzbekistan as well as in the other minority republics of the nation, this for a long time has been ignored, let us now assume that we must better consider the family and domestic features of the population of the indigenous nationalities in designing and building housing, particularly in the countryside, and pay attention to the resurrection of socially significant national traditions which are useful for the development of each nation and nationality and for enriching relations between the nationalities.

We cannot help but mention that in recent years Uzbekistan has become the region of the nation with the largest labor surplus. And a majority of the able-bodied persons not involved in social production is representatives of the rural population of indigenous nationalities. In solving the problem of surplus labor resources, one must listen to the wise advice of F. Engels: “IN order that these people who are displaced from farming not remain unemployed or not be forced to accumulate in the cities, they must be employed in industrial labor in the countryside itself.”

In the present-day situation, the rights of the Union republics must be brought into conformity with the radical economic reform. Clearly the republics must play a major role in shaping the plans for deliveries to the common-Union fund considering both nationality and

national interests. This would also meet the demands of social justice in the development of nationality relations and would encourage our general progress.

UzSSR: Oblast Officials Blasted for Inattention to Social Problems

*18300069b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
29 Jul 88 p 3*

[Unattributed report, published under the heading “At the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet”: under the protection of an authoritative decision; “Leaders of the Soviet Bodies in Kashka-Darya Oblast Remain Idle.” Words/Passages in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] As was already announced, at the session of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet held on 21 July, among the questions discussed was the work of the soviets in Kashka-Darya Oblast in carrying out the Decree of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet “On the Article ‘Dramatic Female Fates’” published in the republic press.

Let us briefly recall the contents of this document which for the first time raised a solution to a truly dramatic problem which had previously been stubbornly ignored to the level of a state, national task. The issue here was the numerous suicides and attempted suicides by setting oneself afire committed each year by women, chiefly young ones, under the age of 30, among whom were numerous girls and adolescents. This phenomenon which is disgraceful for the republic and intolerable in our society became possible, the decree emphasized, as a result of the revival during the years of stagnation of an alien psychology and morality and the vestiges of the patriarchal way of life among a portion of the population. Exhausting housework, a difficult moral and psychological climate in the family, the feudal-bey attitude toward women and the deprecating of her human dignity—this could be seen in virtually each tragic denouement of the women’s fate.

These and other reasons were thoroughly analyzed by the Presidium of the Republic Supreme Soviet. Specific orders were issued in the decree to the soviets, to the ministries, departments, crime prevention bodies and social organizations in the republic, with a clear designating of the tasks as well as the territories where the situation is particularly bad.

Among such regions figured Kashka-Darya Oblast which last year seized the lamentable leadership in terms of the number of women who set themselves afire. Quite naturally, it was precisely here that they felt it essential to check how the decision of the superior republic body is being carried out and how the struggle is being conducted against negative phenomena and what are its results.

The results, as it turned out, are stunning. While last year the oblast recorded 36 cases of people setting themselves afire, during the current 6 months, they have already recorded around 30 human torches. The results of the activities by the various state, economic and social organizations in the oblast shows a "minus" sign.

The report by the Deputy Chairman of the Kashkadarya Oblispolkom, R.A. Ruzybayeva, did not provide any clarity. As is in keeping with the times, in self-critical tones it nevertheless consisted largely of general phrases and arguments, pat truths and complaints of the insufficient aid from the republic bodies. The report left one with a sensation of emptiness as one of the participants in the discussion accurately described this: the impression is gained that no one in the oblast is concerned with this work. The course of further discussion showed that such an assertion is not far from the truth.

It took almost 2 months for the oblispolkom to review the Decree of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and adopt a hazy, formal decision. In essence, this copied the remaining ispolkoms of the local soviets, without even endeavoring to depict the existing situation or at least set out the ways and means for resolving the acute problems. In a word, the next flood of paper descended from above down below through the soviet bodies of the oblast but these had not begun the vital practical work of implementing the specific ideas to eliminate the causes of the tragedies occurring literally before their eyes. The reasons are all the same: the hard physical labor, the isolation of the women from social life and the labor collectives, the unhealthy family situation and vestiges of the patriarchal way of life.

The difficult situation of women, particularly women with many children, to a significant degree has been caused by the poor work of the local soviets, their ispolkoms and the public health bodies in carrying out the requirements of legislation governing the protection of maternity and childhood. Preventive work has been very poorly organized in the oblast. In six cases of immolation by fire, the victims suffered from mental illnesses, including hereditary ones but they were not properly registered and were not receiving any treatment. The level of medical aid and medical educational activities is low and infant mortality remains high. There is a major lag in the physical plant of the pediatric hospitals, maternity homes and divisions, infectious hospitals, however the plan for completing public health facilities was not fulfilled last year.

Kashka-Darya lags substantially behind the republic average level in terms of a number of major indicators of socioeconomic development. A majority of the rural inhabitants has unsatisfactory living conditions and a majority of the villages lacks a water system, sewage and gas. Many families do not have washing machines, refrigerators and other household appliances and this makes housework even more exhausting.

Trade and domestic services in the countryside have been organized completely badly. Many stores lack bread and sugar and in the villages you cannot buy good children's footwear, clothing, furniture and other goods. At a session of the Presidium, the fact was pointed out with indignation that it has been impossible to purchase household soap for 3 months in the oblast stores. Add to this the scarcity and most often the lack of consumer services provided to the oblast's population. Of the 178 kolkhozes and sovkhozes, only 77 have service stores and over half do not have facilities for consumer services and the taking of orders. At the same time, of the planned 18 new service facilities, only one has been built. Two more figures: each year the oblast completes preschool institutions with over 3,000 places while the number of children of the corresponding age increases by approximately 13,000. Thus, the enslavement of women by housework not merely exists but it is also progressing.

In fact, the soviet ispolkoms are not concerned with the questions of involving the women in social production or creating convenient working conditions for them. Throughout the republic, milkmaids have been converted to two-shift working conditions but only in Kashka-Darya do the women employed on the dairy farms work from morning until late in the evening without days off. Many women are employed in heavy physical work on the farms.

More and more difficulties are arising in finding jobs for the female graduates of secondary schools. This is also one of the reasons that in many rayons of the oblast one still finds the practice of bride money, the marrying of adolescent girls and kinship marriages. This was mentioned by the Presidium members in endeavoring to conduct a frank discussion on the still surviving discredited phenomena. Unfortunately, the leaders of the oblispolkom and a number of the rayispolkoms of Kashka-Darya Oblast invited to the session did not want to support this. Here also, probably, is the manifestation of a particular position. To close one's eyes to flagrant facts and feign that these do not exist are tricks condemned by the party from the arsenal of the years of stagnation.

The main field of combat for the fate and happiness of our women lies in the family. Precisely here, at the place of residence, is where the main efforts should be made by the deputies and soviet workers, and the activists of the women's councils, the Komsomol committees and the organizations of public social independent activities. Preventive should also become the main thing in the activities of the crime prevention bodies and this, of course, does not eliminate the importance of a careful examination of the causes of the already occurred tragedies and holding the guilty parties liable. But none of this as yet is observable in the oblast. As before, the officials do not want to visit the young families. And in those rare instances when the despairing women themselves came to the executive committee of the village or settlement soviet or to the police, again they encountered formalism and red tape. Incidentally, the oblispolkom

has not provided a proper assessment of a single case and the same is true in the activities of the executive committees of the soviets in Ulyanovskiy, Yakhabagskiy, Guzarskiy and Usman-Yusupovskiy Rayons where a large portion of the immolations by fire occurs. The degree of indifference on the part of officials to the tragedies occurring nearby and the reticence to even become involved in the existing alarming situation can be seen from the following fact: that it was only from the Presidium workers who arrived in June to study the state of affairs in the oblast that the leaders of the Karshi gorispolkom learned that on 26 March a saleswoman from the municipal food market, A., had set herself afire.

The emerging picture of passivity on the part of the local soviets and their executive committees, the economic and social organizations, the women's councils and the makhalla committees in Kashka-Darya Oblast showed a particularly stark contrast with the examples of a truly business-like and economic attitude on the part of the local authorities to the concerns of their public, as could be seen at the same session. For example, deputies from the Narynskiy Rayon Soviet in Namangan Oblast, having mobilized their compatriots by personal example, during a month built dining rooms at schools with 3,200 seats using volunteer labor. Of course, it would have been possible to wait until the allocations and funds were provided "from above" and then the buildings would have been sounder and better.... But children in the schools must be fed and you cannot dine off "objective factors."

At the Sverdlovskiy Rayon Soviet in Bukhara Oblast, for each of the 95 electoral districts, they have drawn up a list of requirements. In addition to the instructions of the voters, data on requirements for land plots, housing and building materials, here also is found information on poorly-off and incomplete families, elderly persons living alone, persons returning from places of incarceration as well as what families lack vital necessities such as

washing machines, television sets and furniture. That is, each deputy has available a document representing a specific social "portrait" of his district making it possible to supervise the most urgent problems in the everyday life of the voters....

The time has come for painstaking, daily, practical work, the participants of the session emphasized. It is important to adopt profoundly thought-out decisions but if one delays in realizing them, substituting for action a discussion of its importance, much of the planned can be lost like water in the sand. The activities of the Kashka-Darya residents in carrying out the decree of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet reaffirms this.

We must mention one other alarming symptom of the old approaches which have been embellished "as restructuring." Definite grounds for this can be found both in the speeches at the session of the Presidium by the republic ministers of public health and culture as well as in the profound silence of the leaders from a number of other ministries and departments. This is the infatuation with drawing up fundamental, long-range, multipurpose programs designed, as a rule, for 5, 10, or if you wish, even more years. Here promises come much more easily than a period of 1 or 2 years.

Without in any way rejecting the fundamental approaches to solving strategic problems, the Presidium has called for an immediate solution to the problems which can and must be resolved now, in getting rid of routine and empty talk, in decisively reorganizing the style of work and breaking the inertia of the times of stagnation. Here a great deal depends upon us ourselves and upon our ability to organize things. This notion should be taken up by each deputy and soviet worker and each leader, regardless of his rank and sphere of activity. This is the main lesson of the serious, unbiased and very timely discussion held at the session of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet.

**'Democratic Union' Attacked As
Counterrevolutionary**

18000050 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in
Russian 3 Sep 88 p 4

[Article by N.A. Afanasyev, candidate of juridical sciences, and O. Vakulovskiy: "'Soon We Will Shoot At You,' or a Little From Life of 'Law-Abiding' Citizens"]

[Text]

What They Are Grieving About

Quite a lot has been already said about the so-called Democratic Union. The only things that this group has undoubtedly achieved as of today are as follows: it created a maximum noise around its name and attracted attention of journalists, and not only those from the West. However, behind all this noise, loud unsanctioned meetings, and skirmishes with militia, it is quite difficult to figure out what the Democratic Union, or as they call themselves, the DS, stands for. With regard to its membership, this "party" in Moscow falls substantially behind of even many groups of so-called "ROCKERS." However, the DS members are very offended if they are included into so-called "nonformal world." They claim to be a political opposition party. Prior to be recurrently locked up for 15 days (this time, for participating in illegal gathering at the Pushkin Square near the cafe Lira), the "ideological leader" of the DS, Valeriya Ilyinichna Novodvorskaya gave an interview to one of the authors of this article. One should admit that V.I. is a very interesting interlocutress. During the discussion, she will many times mention, for example, Saint Augustine or Loyola. She quite skillfully operates the facts, and our propagandists forced to argue their case were often defeated in these ideological engagements. An unprepared person sometimes can be shocked by Valeriya Ilyinichna. "There is no such city as Leningrad, there is the city Petersburg..." O.K., there is the city Petersburg...But, maybe, the October revolution never took place in it? No, it turns out, it did take place, and this circumstance extremely upsets V.I. and her fellow-fighters. United in their grief regarding this occasion, they, as a matter of fact, created their own "party." A party which does not represent anybody's interests except their own. If one listens to Valeriya Ilyinichna, the leadership of this party consists of absolutely amazing people, namely, all of them are extremely gifted politicians. And we feel uncomfortable for ourselves that we until now have not suspected the existence of a new constellation of brilliant political figures in our country. For example, this is Igor Tsarkov, a "brilliant speaker, subtle politician, and an all-round gifted man..." Or Yevgeniya Debryanskaya, who is a "person excellently versed in all political issues and especially competent in the area of military policy." When asked what is Yevgeniya's profession, Valeriya Ilyinichna slightly hesitated, but only for a moment, and said: "Zhenya does not have a profession for the State provided jobs. She was always

busy bringing up her children. She has very well-mannered children." We asked about Yevgeniya's education, Valeriya Ilyinichna answered: "Zhenya has a humanitarian education. She is a journalist and edits the party press. Zhenya is a brilliant journalist." When and where did Yevgeniya Debryanskaya obtained her "brilliant knowledge" in the area of military policy remained a mystery. However, we will not pick on this subject. She is bringing up her children and it is fine with us. Let us continue and read the "party press" edited by Debryanskaya. From the "DS Declaration": "At the present moment we define the contents of our activities as a political opposition toward the existing social system..." From a leaflet: "Foundations of totalitarianism were laid down and theoretically derived by Lenin... Only a multi-party system, economic pluralism... can provide democracy for the society and protect us from new horrors of terror". And if to make it simpler? "If to speak in the simplest language, it means to change the State system", specified Valeriya Ilyinichna, who obviously likes to make political statements on behalf of the "party".

Small And Large Dirty Tricks

It is interesting, how do Valeriya Ilyinichna and her friends intend to change the point of view of many millions of their fellow-countrymen on the existing State system existing in our country? "We are for an evolutionary way of development", Novodvorskaya advised us. Does it mean that the Democratic Union or, as Novodvorskaya calls them, "peaceful intellectuals, who do not harm anyone" would simply wait for the anticipated by them evolution? "No, we will not wait for the evolution", Valeriya Ilyinichna suddenly changes her mind. "We are counting on the people, who with our help will recognize their grievous state and will find the power to actively come out against the regime. We are against all kinds of revolution," here Valeriya Ilyinichna's face darkened. It seems, she remembered the October revolution. Indeed, what the representatives of the Democratic Union want is difficult to call a revolution. However, it cannot be also called a simple evolution, because the Democratic Union is very interested in pushing society toward a crisis situation, in creating hotbeds of conflict, discontent, and, if they are lucky, even serious disturbances. Of course, the "party" does not talk about it loudly, but one cannot escape the logic of development proposed by them. There is one more word which puts things in their places. Counterrevolution. Counterrevolution against the October revolution after 71 year. Counterrevolution against perestroika, against its ideas, and against its people. For the time being, the Democratic Union demonstrates its essence in small dirty tricks. For example, we heard complaints from representatives of the Popular front for support of perestroika. The Popular front organized its meeting in Moscow. However, after several minutes provocative slogans of the members of the DS, who penetrated the meeting and were trying to use the measure with participation of a large number of people for their political advantage, could be heard. "If the Government does not

want to make radical economic and political changes (in the spirit of the DS program, that is, to return means of production to private ownership, etc. Author's comment), it means that an evil will is present", Novodvorskaya states. And whose exactly will is it? "Inertial evil will of a very substantial part of population and of the whole partocracy without exception", Valeriya Ilyinichna tells us. An "evil will" of the majority, of an overwhelming majority of the people. And of course, there is the "good will", which is carried by the Democratic Union. The "good will" of several tens of people against the "evil" one of many millions. But what one can do about another favorite quotation of Valeriya Ilyinichna, which she so often repeats, namely, "Vox populi, vox Dei" Something here does not fit. However, not only here.

Threats, Shadowing, And Mimicry

"The main principle of the Democratic Union's tactics is ethics, the common to all mankind ethics of humane and decent people. Following the principle 'the end justifies the means' is incompatible with membership in the DS". This is from the official program. On 25 Jul in Moscow on one of the streets, members of the DS tried a provocation. Four strong young men posing as militia workers grabbed a woman and rudely started to pull her to, as they explained, the "slammer." The woman was struggling and screaming. Passers-by were outraged by the behavior of "militia in civil clothes." When the real militia had arrived, it was established that the four men and the woman-"victim" are members of the DS. As you understand, this staging was necessary for discrediting the interior affairs authorities. "We are peaceful intellectuals, we do not harm anybody, we are law-abiding citizens, we want a state of law," Valeriya Ilyinichna was telling. "We are against any violence. We are disgusted by it." "Just wait, soon we will shoot at you." This phrase belongs to the "all-round gifted" Tsarkov, who together with another "subtle politician," Mantulin, many times addressed similar threats to militia men arresting them. As the officers of the special detachment of militia for keeping public order at mass gatherings are telling us, the "peaceful intellectuals" from the DS have long ago made files on many of them. For this files, the members of the DS among other things are photographing militia officers. Sometimes, they purposefully create provocative situations, which force officers of the special detachment to get involved. "Allow me! Present your papers!" imposingly insists the DS representative in such a case. Law is law, and the militia officer must show his papers. After receiving the document, the member of the DS carefully writes the officer's name in his notebook. And, finally, members of the Democratic Union organize real shadowings of militia special detachments' officers. This way the detectives from the group of "law-abiding citizens" are trying to find their home addresses. To be just, let us note that besides the DS, others also like detective stories. Quite recently one of the officers of the Moscow department of internal affairs became a target of shadowing after he met in the center

of the city with a group of people headed by the not unknown editor of the press-bulletin GLASNOST Sergey Grigoryants. He heard how Grigoryants, who recognized his face, told one of his men: "Follow him." A man in a leather jacket immediately left the group. The shadowing continued in the metro, but finally professionalism played its role. The amateur sleuth had lost the militia officer before he could find his address. However, let us return to the Democratic Union. Maybe, it is not so bad that in our time people, who do not accept the idea of Socialism, can openly discuss their position? Maybe, we should not avoid an open and objective discussion with them? Let our numerous lecturers-propagandists show their art of speech in a real case. It could indeed be the case, if the Democratic Union would represent exactly what it pretends to be. However, would not you agree, that one should be more careful with assessments, and it is true also for representatives of the Western mass media, when the next in turn "democrat" warns: "Just wait, soon we will shoot at you." Are we going to wait?

Plans for Promoting Culture, History of Latvia's Other Nationalities Discussed

18000035a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
1 Sep 88 p 3

[LATINFORM report: "Meeting of Working Group of Latvian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Latvian CP Central Committee, under the chairmanship of Committee Secretary A. B. Gorbunov, held a meeting of its working group to consider proposals for the further development of cultural and socio-economic as well as the political aspects of life in the republic, supported by an expanded plenum of the Board of LaSSR Writers.

The meeting dealt with issues arising from the historical, cultural, and linguistic traditions of various national population groups living in the republic and with meeting their needs in the area of education, cultural relations, and folk art.

Yu. I. Goldmanis, deputy chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation and sector chief for national relations of the Latvian CP Central Committee, emphasized in his report that the processes of the democratization of public life and the institution of glasnost was encouraging the growth of national self-awareness among those living in the republic. He called for measures to satisfy the cultural needs of the various national groups in the population to be undertaken by the government, including the State Committee for Culture, the Ministry of Public Education, as well as other ministries and departments, to promote the ideological and moral consolidation of our society.

Proposals were made at the meeting to improve the work being carried out. It was suggested that the State Committee for Culture, in response to a broad range of genuine needs among citizens of diverse nationalities

living in the republic, should promote more vigorously the development of artistic self-expression in native languages, rendering the assistance required in terms of materials, methods of training, and skilled personnel. Support from the organs of culture is needed to assist citizens and established cultural societies in their efforts to develop focal points of national culture, forms of intercultural relations, and the study and cultivated growth of indigenous linguistic traditions among those national groups living in the republic.

A report for the information of those present was made on preparations for a draft standard act defining rules for the establishment and activities of social organizations, organs of public initiative, and other public bodies, scheduled for consideration by the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in October of this year.

The meeting proposed that the Ministry of Public Education take steps in 1988-1989 to expand the number of courses and study groups available for persons desiring to study languages of the people of the USSR and foreign languages independently; and also that it analyze the legitimate needs of the national groups in the population for teaching children in native languages within the public education system. It was further proposed that the State Committee for Culture, in joint cooperation with the creative unions, organize on a continuing basis literary evenings, exhibitions of works by artists and applied arts, tours of performing artists both professional and amateur, among other measures, to publicize the finest achievements of national cultures.

The meeting called attention to the necessity for fuller coverage by the mass media of the history, culture, and traditions of national groups living in the republic, and of their joint participation with the Latvian people in the struggle for Soviet power and in the building of socialism.

It was recognized as expedient to work out, within the framework of the resolution passed at the 19th CPSU Conference "On the Relations Between Nationalities," a comprehensive program for the development of conditions to satisfy the national and cultural needs of all national groups in the population living in the republic, particularly with respect to education, intercultural relations, and national folk art. For this purpose the Center for the Study and Prediction of Public Opinion of the Institute of Party History under the Latvian CP Central Committee has been charged with responsibility of conducting social research in 1988, and similar instructions have been given to the LaSSR State Committee for Culture, the republic Ministry of Public Education, and the departments of the Latvian CP Central Committee.

Taking part in the activities of the working group were V. S. Klibik, secretary of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A. Ya. Gruduls and A. Ya. Goris, department heads of the Latvian CP Central Committee; together with leaders of the ministries and departments and senior party and soviet officials.

Resolution to Promote Propagandization of Latvian WW II Military Exploits

*18000035b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
9 Sep 88 p 1*

[LATINFORM report: "Forever in the Memory of the People"]

[Text] As previously reported, the buro of the Latvian CP Central Committee has reviewed and given its approval to measures for the study and propagandization of military traditions of Latvian army units and partisan guerrilla fighters during the Great War of the Fatherland in order to improve the patriotic and international education of the republic population.

The resolution adopted emphasizes that the study and propagandization of the military traditions of the people of Soviet Latvia during the period of the Great War of the Fatherland constitute an integral and inseparable part of the patriotic and international education of the republic population. In these years of terrible ordeal the workers, together with the vanguard of the peasants and intelligentsia in the republic, at the summons of the party rose up in arms against the Fascist invaders. Latvian units of the Soviet Army and partisan detachments formed on Latvian soil clearly reflected the multinational character of the Latvian population and embodied the comradeship in arms of the fraternal peoples of the USSR. The participation of Latvian warriors in the struggle with the German Fascist invaders on Estonian territory, in the approaches to Leningrad, in Staraya Russa and Velikiye Luki, as in the battles for the freedom of Soviet Latvia, increased the good name of the Latvian people while strengthening their friendship with the other peoples of our motherland.

Latvian military units were recruited on a voluntary basis from the number of people who had evacuated Soviet Latvia and people who had been living in other, fraternal Soviet republics prior to the war. The basis of the 201st Latvian Rifle Division was formed by party, soviet, and Komsomol activists in the early 1940's and the Latvian Red Riflemen. The majority of them went to valiant deaths in battles for the freedom and independence of our motherland. Their courage and heroism will remain forever in the memories of all of the peoples of the USSR.

Thousands of the workers of Soviet Latvia were schooled in courage and tempered by battle in the Latvian military units and partisan detachments. Within their ranks were shaped and seasoned new cadres of skilled workers, who later, in the post-war years, headed vitally important sectors of the economic, political, and cultural construction in the republic, and made a profound contribution to the restoration of the national economy.

The resolution adopted notes further that recently there has been an increasing amount of public interest in the republic regarding the route of battle and traditions of

Latvian military units during the Great War of the Fatherland. In declarations both oral and written, workers have lodged justified complaints that party committees and the mass media, as well as cultural institutions, have devoted an insufficient amount of attention to the study and propagandization of the battle traditions of the Latvian people. Young people engaged in both work and study have been poorly informed about the heroic struggle of Latvian military units and partisan detachments with Hitler's invaders. Many of the battles and heroic exploits of the soldiers and their commanders have been inadequately brought to light, as have the diverse activities of the partisans and Komsomol organizations, together with the writers, composers, and other spokesmen for the arts engaged in the patriotic and international education of Latvian warriors in the war years. Too little is known of the history of the formation of the 24th Territorial (Latvian) Rifle Corps and its military operations in June and July of 1941.

These and other errors of omission are exploited by bourgeois propaganda and nationalistically oriented elements to interpose damaging views of the heroic history of the Latvian people's struggle for freedom and independence on behalf of Soviet rule.

The bureau resolution obligates the gorkoms, raykoms, and departments of the Central Committee to improve teaching and propaganda efforts to publicize the military traditions of the Latvian people in order to improve the patriotic and international education of the republic population, making more effective use of institutions of learning and cultural enlightenment as well as meetings with veterans of Latvian military units of the Soviet Army and of the partisans. It is necessary to make a more systematic effort to broaden and deepen friendly relations with those regions of the Russian Federation and Belorussia along which the route of the Latvian troops and partisans passed.

The Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Party History of the Latvian CP Central Committee are instructed to extend research into the history of the establishment and participation of Latvian units and forces of the Soviet Army and of the Latvian partisans in combat with the German Fascist invaders between 1941 and 1945, as well as into the activities of the Latvian Communist Party in indoctrinating Latvian troops with patriotic and international education during this period.

It is suggested that the State Committee for Culture and the creative unions in the republic increase propagandization of the heritage of art contributed by cultural leaders—people who previously participated in the heroic struggle of the Latvian people with the German Fascist invaders.

The resolution instructs the LaSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, along with republic newspaper editors and journalists, to provide a clearer focus as well as more extensive coverage of the route of

battle and military exploits of Latvian troops, together with the clandestine anti-Fascist movement, and to reveal more comprehensively the international nature of the struggle with Fascism and the continuity of the Soviet people's fighting and labor traditions.

Latvian Paper Accused of Firing up Anti-Nationalist Feelings

*18000163a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
16 Oct 88 p 4*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Platform for Debate": "How Our Newspaper 'Chops the Roots of Perestroyka'" or "Once Again About Pluralism of Opinions and the Culture of Polemics"]

[Text]

To the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party and the Latvian SSR Journalists' Union

If one follows articles in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, particularly in the column "Platform for Debate," one concludes with profound regret that the newspaper editors are going against the course of resolving problems of international relations with flexibility and patience, the course recommended at the conference of party, soviet and ideological workers on 10 August of this year. These inadmissible actions reached their peak in the 15 September article "Obstacles on the Path to the Truth" by V. Ilin.

Since the position taken by the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA is inciting international hostility and creating a deliberately distorted picture of national relations and the processes occurring in the republic, disseminating these distortions also among Russian-language subscribers outside the republic, we feel that the name SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA is a disgrace to the name Soviet Latvia, because this name stands for duty and not for self-admiration. We believe that this matter is important to each resident of our republic, regardless of nationality. It is important for everyone who is concerned about the unity of Latvia's population and about Soviet Latvia's continued success on the path of perestroyka.—workers at the newspaper PADOMYU YAU-NATNE (a total of 29 signatures)

There Must Be an Assessment Based on Principle

The party organization of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union expresses its support for the point of view expressed by workers in the editorial office of PADOMYU YAUNATNE (23 September 1988) regarding articles in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA. We feel that many articles recently published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA—including the previously mentioned articles by V. Ilin, as the most glaring example—purposely publicize the views of the society's conservative minority, thereby discrediting the

Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers as the publishers of the newspaper.

Listening to statements uttered from the highest Union and republic platforms and reading the party and soviet press, one wonders: Just who and where are these repeatedly mentioned but ordinarily not specifically named foes of the society's democratization and restructuring? Whose shadows can be seen behind Leningrad Teacher N. Andreyeva and behind the articles by Riga Engineer V. Ilin, in which, in our opinion, one senses the hand of an experienced journalist(s)? Perhaps A. Vasilenok, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, will provide answers to some of these questions.

Engineer V. Ilin chose his path and his convictions, which are absolutely alien to the course of restructuring the society initiated by the party. He has every right to do that. We, in turn, have the right to point out the recognizable trend of shaping certain attitudes among that group of republic residents who read Russian if the newspaper editors again select V. Ilin as one of their authors and consider it necessary to acquaint the readers with his views extensively and without commentary. In our opinion, these and many other articles logically conform to the position expressed for many years by the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA with respect to assessing the republic's internal problems and in the area of international relations. This position does not further understanding among republic residents of different nationalities but exacerbates national relations. Not just workers at the newspaper PADOMYU YAUNATNE, but members of the party organization of the Writers' Union as well, are seriously disturbed by this situation.

We believe that the publishers of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA—the Latvian Communist Party CC, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers—must assess from a standpoint of principle whether the position taken by the editorial office is in keeping with the restructuring processes, and the newspaper's role in the shaping of national relations in the republic.—party organization of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union

This letter was discussed and approved at a meeting of the party bureau of the Writers' Union and at an open party meeting on 28 September 1988.—LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, 30 September 1988

Letter From Film Director Yanis Streych to Supporters of the NFL (Latvian Popular Front)

A sense of one's own dignity is actually very dangerous for the foes of perestroika, even more dangerous than open chauvinism. Think about it. There is a reason why the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA is inciting hostility among us. The supporters of perestroika are angered by the treacherous actions of the press organ of the Latvian CP.

I believe in the people of my land, believe in their good sense and far-sightedness. I believe that it is not easy to incite national hostility in Latvia.

There is a certain degree of ignorance among the people who read and speak Russian, to be sure. And then SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA does its harmful work. This will not last long, however. I refer to the individual sitting at the editor's desk. It should not be this way! It should not be this way because this is not Gorbachev's policy. It is not the policy of restructuring. In order to get some changes as rapidly as possible, I call upon all of you to discuss this matter in your own group and send a letter of protest to our Central Committee. Preyli also needs truthful information about the processes occurring in the nation. A letter of protest demanding the editor's replacement was compiled yesterday at a party meeting of the Writers' Union. It was sent to all newspapers with a request that it be published. We shall see who does and who does not.

It is our duty to raise our voices in protest. I add my signature to yours.

I believe that this is a first practical step to benefit perestroika. If Lenin himself once uttered sacred words about the press—specifically, that a newspaper is not just a collective agitator but also a collective organizer—and if he considered the publication of a newspaper to be his prime job, then, dear compatriots, how can we assist perestroika if the Central Committee's organ heats up national hostility?! How can we do so if Russian-speaking people are kept in ignorance, if the facts are perverted, willfully commentated upon and distorted? (from the Preylskiy Rayon newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 7 October 1988)

And so, respected reader, let us once again discuss pluralism of opinions and the culture of political polemics. This has to be done, although, believe me, it is not easy from the purely human standpoint. This is because our journalists sometimes read and hear things which make what was cited above sound like innocent admonitions from a manual on good manners. Everything now depends upon the will of the dissenters, so watch out, "political opponents!" one of their leaders warned at a meeting in Mezhepark. The emergence of the NFL marks the beginning of a war to find oneself, but in a war there is also a front line, a television journalist comments about that meeting. In short, war is war, and whoever is not with us is against us!

And since this is the case, then any means are suitable. Including power pressure against the "like-minded." This was how V. Sander, "who dared" to publicize his point of view on events in the Līepaya newspaper KOMMUNIST, was dealt with this summer. It is the way A. Pundurs, published in LATVIYSKIY MOR-YAK, is presently being dealt with. Unknown people are constantly calling him at home, cursing him, accusing

him of "anti-Latvian patriotism," threatening to take reprisals against him and his family. Is it surprising that some of our readers ask that their names be withheld if their letters are published?

Let us try to determine just what our newspaper is being accused of and what is wanted of us.

Let us begin with the most substantial accusation: that the newspaper's line does not conform to the course of restructuring. Just what restructuring is not specified: that begun by the CPSU and conducted under its supervision or some other restructuring. We have already written about the fact that perestroika is sometimes interpreted in diametrically opposed ways. In order to establish the truth or the falsity of the suggestions we need to reach agreement on the terms on which they are based. Since the 19th All-Union party conference these can only be the six interrelated resolutions passed by it. Failure to implement even one of them is to obstruct perestroika as a whole.

SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA has pursued, is pursuing and shall always pursue a line conforming to the party's program documents. Unfortunately, our "political opponents" prefer to brandish those documents without bothering to thoroughly understand them.

Nor can one agree that the newspaper's line does not conform to the line of its publishers. Possibly it does not reflect the opinion of certain apparatchiks or even some members of the Central Committee or the republic government, but this does not go beyond the framework of socialist pluralism or democratic centralism. Our newspaper is the organ of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet and its Council of Ministers, and not of individual people.

It is strange to hear Ya. Baltvilks, agent of the NFL support group in the Writers' Union, ask to what extent SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA reflects the line, the intentions and the will of its publishers. It is strange because the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, organ of the republic's creative unions, stated on 7 October that the time has passed for the dictate of the party and Soviet apparatus even, possibly, in the most important area of ideological work, the mass media.

The substitution of concepts is one of the favorite techniques of demagogues. This was demonstrated most clearly during the television bridge set up between the youth of the Baltic republics and Belorussia. The method of conducting the discussion fairly rapidly began to bother the Minsk participants, and one of them said: "It is very awkward for us that we always appear as opponents of our Baltic friends. Perhaps there is something we do not understand, so let us reach agreement on the

terminology and stop the sophistry. How do you understand the term sovereignty: greater economic independence, less dictation from the departments, or something else?

The substitution of concepts and a double standard are also used in the polemics with our newspaper. The fact that our readers would foresee this possibility was revealing. Let us cite as an example a letter received in response to the article "Vector of Pluralism" (SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 22 September 1988).

"I am confident that your truthful article will evoke an acute negative reaction in all those who are exploiting perestroika for their egotistical group interests. I am also confident that the 'fighters for perestroika' will use arguments against you taken from the Stalinist arsenal, while at the same time screaming about their support of democracy and socialist pluralism.

P. Fedotov,
Engineer, 32 years of age,
'Emigrant' from Moscow 7 years ago"

Comrade Fedotov saw things clearly. For 2 days a poster was prominently visible at the Press Center, asserting that SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA "is chopping the roots of perestroika." This was followed by an article by V. Daugmalis in LITERATURA UN MAKSLA. It referred to V. Ilin's articles as nothing other than "Black Hundred" statements, and described "Vector of Pluralism" as a provocative attempt to incite reciprocal national hatred.

Since the "spreading of international dissention" was the second accusation leveled at the newspaper, let us discuss this matter in detail.

Based on the Leninist tradition and adhering to the resolution of the 19th All-Union party conference "On International Relations" and documents of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, we never directed extra attention to individual cases of nationalism, although we did point out (timidly, we can now see) differences between real national interests and their distortions. If one looks through the file of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA for a period of many years, it is easy to see that when we talked about culture it was primarily Latvian culture. When we wrote about outstanding workers receiving awards they were primarily Latvians. We never noticed, as it were, the growing international tensions. The words of one of our readers therefore seem perfectly just today: "Your newspaper is criticized by Latvians, nor can the Russians praise you. At a time when some newspapers write that the Russians need to be driven out of Latvia, and a great deal is being done to achieve this goal, you only chastely write about internationalism and friendship of peoples. In this situation you have the right and the duty to state that half of the republic's population also has the right to defend its dignity."

This letter arrived following a two-day broadcast of the NFL congress with a simultaneous Russian-language transmission by radio. Much of what the delegates said was a real shock to most of our readers. But all of this is just a conglomeration of ideas which have long been voiced to one degree or another at meetings of the dissidents, on the pages of PADOMYU YAUNATNE and LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, and on Latvian television and radio.

We did not consider it possible to publish statements like "the emigrants are international slaves, the dregs of the world," for example, or letters which we received full of insults for Russians—or more accurately, for "non-Latvians." This was because we recognized what this could cause. At the same time, the popular TV program "Labvakar" showed things insulting to Latvians sent in by Russian chauvinists. And there were many instances of this.

The "needed public opinion" was shaped as a result. Take the group of picketers in the center of the city, for example. We asked what was bothering them.

"We live under terrible conditions. We are belittled at every step only because we wear the red, white and red badges. Everywhere there are frightening signs: 'We shall plant a green tree for every "Hans" killed.' Can you imagine what that is like for us and our children?" "Have any of you seen these signs? Have you? Have you? What about you? No? I haven't seen them either, although I walk around the city every day." "We haven't seen them, but that's what they write in the newspapers! The writers are respected people! They wouldn't lie."

And the "outsiders" and "emigrants" are denied the right to this kind of pain.

But some of the preachers are not concerned that even ordinary conflicts on the job, according to psychological studies, are reducing labor productivity as much as 16 percent, and losses of work time from the suffering amounts to around 15 percent? It turns out that the cause is not the main thing at all, but questions of national self-awareness, national features and distinctions in and of themselves.

The reaction of an anonymous individual to the article "Return to the Land" in SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH is revealing. Knowing that there are thousands of single farms standing idle in the republic, the newspaper suggested that all of those with the desire become modern farmers. It received a letter in response: "The Russians should keep their noses out of other people's affairs. When you leave, we will uplift our own agriculture...."

Friendship among peoples of different nationalities and interethnic marriages have long been commonplace, but now they try to tell us that these are vulgar, mechanical internationalism. In an article in LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, subsequently reprinted in RIGAS BALSS (14

October 1988), R. Dobrovenskiy complained: "Today we hear—and not infrequently—nostalgic statements to the effect that in our time no one even asked the question, and we did not think about who was of what nationality.... Perhaps. One finds the following phrase in the 'Acquaintance Sought' section of the advertising supplement: 'Nationality unimportant.' Does this mean that some people were affected by the many years of mesmerizing passes and incantations? Or did the person arrive at this broad-mindedness on his own? Well, that is his prerogative."

Thanks for the democratic permission. At one of the meetings of the dissidents there was a more stern warning to Latvian girls to remember that if they should fall in love with an emigrant they would soon have to make the difficult choice of tearing him out of their heart or leaving and grieving for their homeland from afar.

It is now obviously clear to everyone what the authors of the ominous messages to the republic's directing agencies and the authors of letters to the newspaper want from the editors of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA. In their opinion, we should either make adjustments so as not to interfere with them or even better, help them. Otherwise, as one of the delegates to the NFL congress demanded, it will be necessary to establish a special commission to decide what is worth publishing in our newspaper and what is not. Perhaps if we beg very hard, they might permit us to publish it, but only with appropriate commentary from the NFL.

With respect to the editors' needing to work harder, we entirely agree. But we are going to consult our readers about what is best, and not the dissidents or someone else. During the subscription drive our journalists meet with the labor collectives and carefully listen to their mandates to the newspaper. Yes, we want to describe the changes occurring even more vigorously, want to work for real restructuring and do everything we can to help normalize international relations.

With respect to the latter, we feel that mutual tact and good will are the main thing. V. Vasilyev wrote us to say that "we are all living in complicated times. And each of us is faced with the problem of choosing his attitude toward everything occurring in the republic, of choosing his opinion. It is not important if the opinion differs from that of a comrade. What is important is that it promotes perestroika and a better life for all the republic's residents."

The fact was stressed at a recent session of the bureau of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee that the journalists must work persistently to rid themselves of group passions and the one-sided approach to the coverage of the complex restructuring processes, and not assume the role of final authority. Socialist pluralism of opinions must not be merely proclaimed; it must be supported in the newspapers, on radio and television. Glasnost must serve the ideals of socialism.

The times demand specific action. People are beginning to grow tired of the numerous meetings and marches. They want peaceful and normal conditions in which to work and to relax. It is the duty of the Communists and of all the state and public organizations, including the Latvian Popular Front, to create those conditions. All problems must be resolved with deliberation and calmness, in a serious atmosphere. A huge effort and an enormous amount of work are needed to overcome existing difficulties and make up what was lost during the years of stagnation. The situation will not be rectified with the finest of slogans and appeals. Honest and persistent work is what is needed.

Problems of Bilingualism in Latvia Discussed

*18000163b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
16 Oct 88 p 3*

[Article by Candidate of Philology Viktoriya Drizule:
"Language and the Society: Language and We"]

[Excerpts] Language Week begins in the republic tomorrow. This is the third one, but it has never before had such significance. The decree passed by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet on the status of the Latvian language has for the first time advanced the problem of bilingualism to the ranks of the most important interests of all of Latvia's residents.

Just what is bilingualism, or fluency in two languages? It is the ability to communicate, to express one's thoughts, to read, write and speak in one's native language and an acquired language. There can be individual or mass bilingualism. We usually speak of bilingualism in our country's national republics, although it is in fact most frequently multilingualism.

The definition "national-Russian" or "Russian-national" bilingualism is not entirely accurate. We have the functioning of two national languages in one territory, one of which is also the means of international communication, the verbal medium for use with other peoples of our country, while the other is the native language of the republic's main, indigenous population. In the national republics Russian is at the same time the native language of the Russians, a language which has become native for certain non-Russians (according to the 1979 census, 16.3 million people throughout the nation) and the means of international communication.

The Latvian language is one of two living Baltic languages which have retained their ancient Sanskrit and Indo-European roots. In view of the fact that only a fourth of the non-Latvian population are fluent in Latvian, a reduction in the number of carriers of the language could have a negative effect also upon the existence and the development of the language. Today we have an uneven balance between the two components of bilingualism. The Latvian language is little used in administrative and legal affairs and in certain branches of industry.

The proposals put forth in the Latvian Popular Front's draft program regarding the functioning of languages are therefore completely justified.

The development of such a code has begun. Recognition of the Latvian language as the republic's state language provides the legal basis for balanced bilingualism. Implementation of the decree passed by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet will require many things, however. They include an equal number of hours allocated for the study of a second language in Russian and Latvian schools, which is being introduced this academic year; dictionaries, textbooks and aids; an attitude toward the study of languages, and much, much more.

Today's language situation demands comprehensive study by various researchers: demographers, ethnographers, historians, linguists, economists, sociologists and cultural specialists. It would be difficult to obtain information on the actual functioning of the languages without the large-scale gathering of data, without surveys and without the use of computers. Such a study has been started at the Academic Institute of Language and Literature imeni A. Upit. Please send your opinions and your suggestions to the following address: Riga, 226524, GSP, Turgenev Street, 19, Institute of Language and Literature imeni A. Upit, Bilingualism Group.

One more thought. Enhancing the cultural level as a whole (for all and for everyone individually) could contribute to a less "painful," more sensible resolution of this problem. A knowledge of languages has never harmed the intelligent person. Furthermore, some people will probably have to break down within themselves a certain invisible barrier on the path to a second language. After all, this is a matter of mastering conversational Latvian, of making it easier to establish contacts, of understanding the culture and the art of another people. With respect to people employed in the field of the services, in the administrative system, in medicine—wherever it is essential to communicate directly with people—they absolutely must be bilingual. We all need that.

Lithuanian SSR Rehabilitation Procedures Explained

*18000123a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
11 Sep 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "On the Rehabilitation of Deported Citizens"]

[Text] More and more people are turning to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the republic Council of Ministers, local agencies of state authority and administration for clarification of the procedure for rehabilitation and its social consequences.

ELTA is authorized to report that a special commission is deciding on the rehabilitation of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who were deported during the period 1941-1952. A state agency was established for this purpose back in 1957, when the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet established a commission for reviewing the cases of people deported by decision of a special conference of the former People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR and People's Commissariat of State Security of the USSR (NKVD and NKGB), and in accordance with certain directives issued by those bodies. The commission was authorized to make decisions on the rescission of special exile and the granting of permission to reside in Soviet Lithuania.

In 1964 this commission was reorganized as a commission of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, and its present chairman is Y. Guretskas, secretary of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The press has already reported that 37,362 families totalling 120,926 people were deported from the Lithuanian SSR during the period 1941-1952.

A total of 12,337 people have been rehabilitated by decision of the commission and of the Procuracy of the Lithuanian SSR and the republic Supreme Court. The rehabilitation process is being accelerated. The commission rehabilitated 80 people in 1987 and a total of 208 just during the first half of this year. It is planned to publish the list of those rehabilitated in rayon and city newspapers.

The rehabilitated people or members of their families very frequently ask state agencies about the return of property.

The return of property to individuals for whom the special exile was rescinded as unjustified is considered by the executive committees of city and rayon soviets of People's deputies.

People's courts decide on disputes over failure to return surrendered property.

The rehabilitation process continues. A larger number of people will be enlisted for accelerating it.

Problems of TV Instruction in Lithuanian Language Discussed

18000123b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
11 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by A. Masaytis, program director: "Televised Lithuanian Lessons"]

[Text] A year ago Lithuanian Television began broadcasting the program "We Study the Lithuanian Language" for republic residents who do not know Lithuanian. The course of study for the first year consisted of 22 TV programs, and almost all of them were

repeated. The course was designed for those viewers who had never studied the Lithuanian language. They learned the Lithuanian alphabet, pronunciation rules and the most important grammatical constructions, and mastered the basic vocabulary.

The producers of the program received many letters from viewers in which they shared their ideas about how to make the TV programs more effective and which helped to better determine the audience at which the TV lessons should be targeted. This is very important for planning the course of study and selecting the proper methods for improving and enhancing the initial programs. The active participation of the viewers, their critical comments and constructive advice throughout the first year have made the programs more vivid and forced us to experiment and seek new techniques. After all, Lithuanian Television does not have a great deal of experience in the use of the technology or the teaching of the language by television. Not everything turned out well as a result, and not everything which was planned was accomplished. There will be a great deal of adjustment and improvement in the future.

This year two courses will be prepared and broadcast: one for beginners and one for those who are somewhat familiar with the Lithuanian language (those who at least watched the televised lessons this past academic year). One program will be broadcast for beginners and then repeated the following week. For those who have some knowledge of the language, there will be two programs (without reruns). All of the Lithuanian language programs will be broadcast at 18:15 on Mondays. The programs are 30 minutes long.

The first "We Study the Lithuanian Language" program for this academic year will be broadcast on 12 September at the time indicated in the television schedule. It will be a class for beginners.

We advise everyone who is studying or who plans to study the Lithuanian language to acquire I. Aleksandra-vichyus' textbook "The Lithuanian Language," the second edition of which became available in bookstores this summer and can still be purchased. Assignments will be made and the students will be told which sections, what and how much to study at home. This will save time on the program, which can be used for practical exercises in conversational speech.

Anyone with questions regarding this information or who would like to express an opinion about the content of the course, the methods used for teaching the language, about the broadcast schedule, and so forth, can write directly to the television station at the following address: 232457, Vilnius, State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of the Lithuanian SSR, Chief Editors of Television Propaganda, "We Study the Lithuanian Language" broadcast.

We wish you success with your studies!

**Lithuanian TV Channel for Inter-Republic
Broadcasts Planned**
*18000123c Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
10 Sep 88 p 4*

[Report by Yu Stroganov: "A New Television Channel is Coming Into Being"]

[Excerpts] **How will it be used? This matter needs to be decided with public input.**

The conference recently held in the office of L. Ignatavichyus, chief of the Lithuanian Republic Radio and Television Broadcast Center, was outwardly a typical "technical" meeting. It was nonetheless unusual, however, and of course the significance of the undertaking reached far beyond the walls of the small office. It sounded as though the terminology was specialized and that the discussion was about the center's possibilities, but the subject for that assembly, which was actually more like a meeting of workers from the center, the republic's Ministry of Communication and representatives of the public, was unquestionably of intense interest to all of us television viewers. It was about the fate of the future television Channel 38, which is to begin broadcasting in the fall of 1989, about how it will be used and what program (or programs) will be presented. There was therefore an extremely lively exchange of opinions among representatives of the technical personnel, the public and journalists.

The reader might wonder why the fate of the television channel was discussed that day not in the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, let us say, or in some other organization where such problems are ordinarily resolved, but at the center, which is not a "legislative" but an executive agency?

The brief history leading up to the meeting is the following. When the general public learned that there was to be another television channel in the near future, the question of its technical capabilities arose. The future of the channel could only be based on these, after all. Rumors arose that the transmitter now being installed is a weak one, like the one used for the ill-fated, now "deceased" Channel 11, criticized by all for the poor quality of the broadcasts, that it could not provide quality broadcasting, and so forth.

"That is not so," L. Ignatavichyus objected. "The transmitter for Channel 11 broadcast at only 100 watts and was indeed too small for the purpose, and we therefore stopped using it, but the power of the transmitter now being built for Channel 38 is 20 kilowatts. This is the same as the transmitter for Channel 31, that which broadcasts the All-Union Program 2."

What will the technical capabilities of the future television channel be? To put it more simply, what will we be seeing?

Various proposals were submitted. The supporters of the educational television program have their own reasoning. L. Ignatavichyus had an interesting idea.

"Tashkent, as an example, has five programs—two central, two republic and one international," he said. "The most topical of the broadcasts from neighboring republics—from Alma-Ata, Frunze and other cities—are relayed through the latter. We have a good capability for the quality relay of programs through radio-relay lines from Minsk and Leningrad. In the near future we shall have the same capability for relaying from Riga, and this year we shall link Snechkus with Daugavpils. I believe it would be a good thing to establish such an international program."

R. Varnas, a worker in the relay shop, expressed the thought that it is technically possible to relay television programs from the Polish People's Republic. There was discussion about whether a good picture could be obtained in the absence of local radio-relay lines. Engineer T. Vishnyauskas said, however, that as an experiment center specialists had received a television signal from the PPR in Alitus and sent it on to Vilnius over radio-relay lines. It is his opinion that we can show Polish programs, although their purely technical features would indeed not meet all of the requirements. His viewpoint was supported by most of the participants. Omitting minor details, we can say that the meeting ended with that.

Just how well will the new channel satisfy the viewer? Let us return to the meeting in L. Ignatavichyus' office. The center specialists reiterated the idea that they are executive agents and will show what they are ordered to show, but they still participated most actively in the discussion. It seemed to me at the time that they were being too defensive. Twenty people should not be making a decision about the fate of a television channel. Furthermore, those assembled knew very well that they did not have this authority, particularly since there were no specialists present from the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and except for the journalists, the public was represented by only two guests from the Institute of Physics of Semiconductors of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, representing the membership of Sayudis. I saw the significance of the meeting as lying elsewhere, in the fact that the attention of the broad masses will be drawn to this important issue by means of the press and that we should probably thank its initiators, those in charge at the center. One thing still troubles me, however. According to the sociologists the letters from viewers do not reflect the viewpoint of all the public, but only that portion which bothers to write. Their ideas are important, of course. What is the solution? Obviously a sociological survey. But just who will conduct it?

Official on Lithuanian Periodical Subscription Plans, Problems

18000114a Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 88 pp 1-2

[Article by Vitautas Zheymantas, deputy head of the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party: "A Subscription Boom Or a Paper Shortage?" Words/Passages in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] "Why can't I subscribe to the publication I want?" asked the readers of KOMYAUNIMO TESIY. Ye. Matskaytis from Taurage, R. Maslauskas from Retavas and P. Balzarite from Shyaulay. Other authors of letters have asked us similar questions. The editors of KOMYAUNIMO TESIY asked for a commentary on them....

We should say first of all that the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party also receives many similar requests.

One should not answer them in a pat formula. Although some do this saying that there is no paper and that is the end of the explanation. But this is not all.

Hence, the time has come when they have begun again to limit the run of newspapers and magazines and respectively the subscriptions to the periodical press. We were able to enjoy unlimited periodical publications for a very short time, just last year. In truth, not everyone was pleased. Those responsible for paper supplies frowned in concern and turned to the foreign paper markets. It was clear to them that there actually was not enough home-produced paper. And along with discussions about the "book boom," more and more frequently one also heard about a "subscription boom."

Recently, certain central newspapers published an interview which had been given to a TASS correspondent by G. Kudryavtsev, the USSR first deputy of communications and which was titled "About the Subscription Boom."

People noticed more attentively than before that in our ministries and departments they were very fond of the word "boom" and not too well inclined to the word "deficit." Since if there is a boom, then it is not hard to create the appearance that the guilty parties are those who created such a situation. In our instance it was those who so greatly increased the demand for the periodical press. In other words, we the journalists are to blame as well as you the readers. And if we speak about a deficit, then those who are unable to satisfy the demand should bear responsibility for this.

And what are we now living through, a "subscription boom" or a "paper shortage"?

If one turns to the title of the mentioned interview, then it turns out that at present we have a "boom." Moreover, this interview as well as a number of other articles endeavor to persuade us that such a sudden rise in the run of periodicals was not expected. This was a sort of bolt out of the blue.

Did those who should be concerned with the production, planning and supply of paper underestimate the course announced by the party of glasnost? Did they really hope that the principles of glasnost would diverge from the press?

Possibly, as was asserted by the Vilnius resident D. Rashenkovene in her letter: "There, in the center, there are bureaucrats at work who do not find glasnost and restructuring much to their liking and for this reason they, in taking cover behind a paper shortage, want to gag the press?"

For a start I would like to calm down Comrade D. Rashenkovene. It is not because all of those who should be concerned with increasing the output of paper are fervent supporters of restructuring and glasnost. I do not know them but I do know something else: in our country the paper industry has fallen far behind. For a long time now we have been suffering from a chronic illness, a paper shortage. Even in 1985, after the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, suddenly there were such jumps and each following year the single edition of periodicals increased by 20 million copies in the nation.

Our republic, although previously having comparatively large runs of periodicals, also was not standing still. In this year the single run of periodicals in the republic has increased by 110,000 copies and last year by more than 150,000 copies. Presently, for each resident of Soviet Lithuania there is an average of two periodicals.

In our country, priority has been given to the development of various industrial sectors. I do not recall a priority for the paper industry. And if there was some plan for accelerating paper production, this remained solely on paper. The recently promulgated statistics shows that our nation, in terms of paper production per inhabitant, holds only 42d place in the world. In terms of the per capita paper consumption in Europe, we are ahead only of Poland, Romania and Albania.

What are our prospects? During the current five-year plan, some 3.3 billion rubles have been allocated for the development of the paper industry. This, according to the assertion of *Pravda*, is not much since a billion invested in this industry makes it possible to increase cardboard and paper production per inhabitant of the nation by only 1 kg. Thus, in the near future, in a year per inhabitant we will produce a little more than 30 kg of paper and cardboard, while in the United States this indicator is around 290 kg, in Sweden over 220 and in the other developed capitalist countries around 200 kg.

Even worse, what we do have must still be reduced. The paper which is so essential for the development of our culture up to now is produced in an uncultivated manner. Unfortunately, this sector of our industry is primitive, numerous ecological problems grow up around our paper mills and it is perfectly understandable that this evokes legitimate indignation and protests from the public. In the aim of preserving nature and considering the desires of the public, even now two paper mills have been halted and at two pulp-paper combines they have shut down pulp production. They are to produce other products also at the Baykal Pulp-Paper Combine. Most probably the very name of this enterprise will be changed.

In truth, the shutting down of this capacity was painful first of all for the production of wallpaper, office and other paper. The output of newsprint and magazine stock was not directly involved in this. But indirectly it was beyond any doubt. Moreover, all that we are presently describing is concentrated in the hands of a single ministry.

Only paper imports have risen. However, here there are just as many problems. Paper is received from overseas not as a gift but for foreign exchange.

For this reason, we presently often do not obtain the desired book because the runs of printed publications are again limited.

I have in my hands the Order of the USSR Minister of Communications No. 315 signed on 20 July 1988. This states: "Subscription to the newspapers PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA, the journals AGITATOR, KOMMUNIST, PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE and SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV may be carried out without limitation." Later this fortunate list also was to include SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

The list of limited publications approved by the USSR Deputy Minister of Communications, L. Barashenkov, unfortunately includes many publications which are very popular in our republic. Considering the previously established runs, subscriptions are accepted for such newspapers as TRUD, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, SOVETSKIY SPORT, the weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and the magazines OGONEK, ZDOROVYE, RABOTNITSA, ZA RULEM and as a whole this list includes more than four-tenths of the most popular Union magazines. For the less popular Union publications they have also set a limit and these cannot exceed the subscription level existing on 1 January of the current year.

A similar situation exists also in the publishing runs of the republic press as well as subscriptions to it. For next year, we were promised virtually as much paper as was allocated this year. In 1989 we could have the same runs as we did during the current year. However, they must be

slightly reduced since on 1 January we will begin publishing the new, long-awaited magazines MYANAS [Art] and LITOVSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA V SHKOLE [Lithuanian Language and Literature in the School]. Sports fans will receive the newspaper SPORTAS which will be twice as fat while the newspapers of Kapsukas and Alitus will finally catch up with the Shyaulay and Panevezhis in periodicity. Consideration has been given to the request of the initiative group of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring for an official publication SAYUDZHE ZHINES [News of the Movement]. Other innovations are to appear and the paper, as we have already said, will be received only in the amount provided for the current year. For this reason our long-printed publications must for a time be somewhat constricted and accept the new ones in their ranks.

Moreover, it would be incorrect to view all publications in terms of the "current year's level." It is also essential to consider, whenever possible, the changes in demand and the requests of the readers. For example, recently, when we began publishing ISTORIYA LITVY [History of Lithuania] under the editorship of A. Shapoka, there has been a particular increase in the popularity of the journal KULTUROS BARAY. This was considered. The run of the magazine more than doubled but it must not be forgotten that it could only be increased at the expense of other publications and, hence, other readers. This is a painful path. This problem would not exist if the operations of the book publishing houses were increased.

Older journalists recall well that due to the paper shortage many journals and bulletins of the republic (and the nation) were temporarily made thinner. This "temporary" phenomenon has continued since 1979. It has been possible to help only the journal YAUNIMO GRYATOS. As of the new year this journal will be published in the same volume as before. Other publications, unfortunately, must still wait for this.

There has been a delay in carrying out one other interesting, in my view, project. I have in mind the plans of two associations, the Polish Sigma and our Periodiki to publish a joint Union-international journal SDELAY SAM [Do It Yourself]. An agreement has already been reached to establish two equal editorial offices in Vilnius and Warsaw. The plan is to publish the journal in Lithuanian, Russian and Polish. Warsaw will print it. It will be distributed in our country, in Poland and in other nations requesting it. According to Lithuanian and Polish journalists, a run of 100,000 copies of the zero (in other words, publicity) issue of this journal was prepared and printed in Warsaw. We do not know when the first issue will appear. Here the paper shortage is also an obstruction, as Poland also does not have very much of it and we are as yet unable to help.

There are other still unrealized projects which have been proposed by various organizations, departments and the public.

Is there a way out of this rather unenviable situation? In the future, there are plans to complete new capacity for paper production, to improve production methods and possibly increase paper imports. But this is in the future.

For now, we must give some thought on how to more rationally utilize the available paper resources and paper stock. First of all, I would like to turn to the paper industry workers in our republic, asking: Look around you and possibly there still may be some unused reserves. You will be warmly thanked by everyone who values the press and who impatiently waits for it.

Secondly, I would not agree with those who have proposed an increase in the run of the publications which they like and a halt of the publishing of others. Our press has followed a difficult path before it could reach the current level. Periodicals were closed down for various reasons. So we should now close them down because of a paper shortage?

Furthermore, thousands of tons of paper are irrationally consumed in various offices. The amount of paper wastes has not been declining in the printing industry and there are gigantic amounts of unused domestic waste paper.

It is possible and essential to make more rational use of the periodic press. Soyuzpechat primarily supplies periodicals to all libraries and reading rooms. Our press distributors have proposed the wider use also of a collective form of subscription. For example, a brigade, section, sector, neighbors in a building or entranceway, having first agreed among themselves, order various publications and then exchange them.

Many do not know what to do with read and no longer required journals and newspapers. Possibly, someone finds it impossible to locate an essential issue. For this reason we must encourage the initiative of Soyuzpechat to develop a trade in already-read newspapers and magazines. For now they are purchased only in Vilnius and Kaunas. The inhabitants of other towns and rayon centers are waiting for the opening of such booths.

These certainly are only partial measures. For now the long existing paper scarcity will be more apparent as a subscription boom. Due to the former, we become irritated, seek out guilty parties and wonder how to avoid this. We are sincerely happy for the latter and are hopeful that attention to the press will never weaken. The Resolution "On Glasnost" adopted at the 19th All-Union Party Conference has provided a new impetus to such optimism.

Reader Questions Erection of Chernobyl Monument in Moscow

*18000166 Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
15 Oct 88 p 2*

[Letter by Ye. Filippova, engineer, Cherkassy: "Why Not in Chernobyl: A Monument to be Erected to the Memory of Those Who Died in Eliminating the Tragic Aftermath of the Chernobyl AES Accident"]

[Text] I have never in my life written a letter to the editor of a newspaper. And I never would have if I had not read the notice in your paper on 22 September 1988 entitled "According to the Designs of Young Artists".

Chernobyl is a great misfortune. It shook our entire country. People of all nationalities worked very hard to cope with the calamity. And it is quite right that the decision has been made to immortalize the remembrance of that tragic event. It will serve as a warning that bungling and laxity can lead to nuclear disaster.

I do not know how to speak eloquently so I will just say it directly. Why will the monument be erected in Moscow and, on top of this, in a cemetery? Did this event occur in Moscow?

Perhaps this decision was made because the people who could not be saved by Moscow's leading medical institutions are buried there; I don't know. Then such a monument should be erected to the dead. But Chernobyl is a cemetery in which not only people but also a portion of the flourishing Ukrainian land is buried...

Why isn't that monument erected there where the misfortune occurred, at the entrance to the AES? Why was the question of where the monument is to be erected decided quietly in the lobbies of goodness-only-knows-which ministry? I think that the question of where to erect a monument must be determined by the entire country as a whole, because this misfortune concerns the entire Soviet nation.

I understand that you get an enormous amount of editorial mail, but I would very much like to request that you ask your newspaper readers what their thoughts are on this issue.

Mass Graves in BSSR Highlight Need to Dispel Past Illusions

*18000072 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 39
24 Sep-1 Oct 88 p 28*

[Article by A. Adamovich entitled: "Look Around!"]

[Text] As early as the 1960's and 1970's it became possible to journey into Stalinism, into places that were "not very far off" (but actually very far off). So, in 1971 Yanka Bryl and I set out on a kind of "writer's assault" in the direction of Dudinka and Norilsk, on the Yenisey, which is as wide as the Milky Way. The Siberian forests

and mounds would at times permit is to see empty settlements previously inhabited by spetsposelentsy. In places there were remnants of common graves and individual graves and dried-out scabs of camps. We saw that, but of course we could not see everything that would have been taken in by the "Boy from Dudinka," Viktor Astafyev (remember his story recently shown on television?)

Those were the days when Bryl and I were concerned mostly with Khatyn. We were actually working on the book "I Come From a Fiery Village," travelling throughout Belorussia to question people about the genocide committed by the fascists. On a visit to a steamship captain who had invited us into his cabin to discuss the cares and affairs of writers, we naturally started to relate the terrible facts and details we had recorded on our tape recorders. Such as how fascist persecutors killed entire families, buried alive villages and large areas.

"I saw enough myself," said the captain on his part. "I made dozens of passages, always going there with the holds full, but on the return trips there was no one. Everybody remained there. So I saw enough of people and non-people, you may say."

"This was after the war, Germans and followers of Vlassov?", we continued.

"No. This was in 1937 until the war broke out. After that I went to the front and someone else took over the job."

Sitting next to the captain was the master of the Dudinka port. He, needing no further explanation, understood the captain immediately.

Yes, a journey into Stalinism does not always mean that you start travelling here and end up there. Sometimes this can be a look into yourself. We have been emptying ourselves by the bucketful and the tubful for decades, and still there are drops to squeeze out. For example, in the matter of our inculcated conviction, the illusion (along with the threatening expression "in our country there is a reason why people are arrested") that the executioners who tortured and killed our people before or after the war did this in a more "humane" manner, with more justification, than the intruders from the West. In the same Dudinka I argued with a writer for whom the idea of the State system and supreme power was a justification for all kinds of abominations.

"They believed in what they were doing!" insisted my opponent. He was referring to the okhranniki and the main "bigwig," whose portrait was stuck up over the heads of all 170 million people (or whatever our population was then). In that case, what about those who committed unthinkable atrocities on the territory of occupied Belorussia, the Ukraine, Russia, the Baltic—

what about them? Can they not point to their "symbols of faith"? They can and they did, at the Nuremberg Trials. They pointed not only to their "faith," but also to obedience to orders.

I also remember some things about myself, such as understanding, with all my wartime enlightenment in the partisans (where I heard, saw and understood much of what was later to be made public by the 20th CPSU Congress), and in my reading of stories and remembrances of our camps. It seemed that, although we already knew most of what had happened, on every page we again and again had to part with the imposed self-deception (yes, self-deception can be forced onto people). I read Solzhenitsyn's "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," the "Bas-Relief on the Cliff" by Aldan-Semenov, I learned (I saw plenty as I watched how the Germans would escort our prisoners of war to work details), but it was this learning that frightened and dumbfounded: What? How is that? They were shooting the weak? Was it for "attempting to escape"? Who, our people? One step to the left or right and I shoot!...

We could have asked ourselves the question: Well, what happened to the millions of people who were taken away in the early and late 1930's? We did not ask. We found a way not to ask. We did not want to become part of the reality, even eyewitness reality. Even when the people who returned from there spoke up. I remember how an old man, a glass factory worker, started to cry (in my Glusha, which supplied 85 labor camp prisoners in 1937, with almost all of them laborers for the Gulag), how he could no longer control himself and cried when he started to tell about how interrogators caused him pain in a man's "most vulnerable place" while shouting: "Sign! Sign!"

We did not let in the whole truth. And we did not let it out, with our holding onto some kind of illusions: Yes, yes, but they were our people after all! Even Stalin had something to offer!

It was only recently that we, residents of Minsk, realized suddenly (once more suddenly!) that in the 1930's people were being killed and annihilated not only above the Polar Circle, but also close to home. Without being taken to the other end of the world, there were a "plan" and "obligations" (also "increased" ones) relative to exposing and eliminating "enemies" (at first those who were "socially estranged," then the "kulaks," subsequently on the basis of profession: engineers, teachers, military men, veterinarians, party workers, etc., under the general category of "enemies of the people"). In the city thousands of people listened intently: Is that a truck out there? Who will be taken away? In the villages surrounding Minsk people would also not sleep at night when they heard the sound of vehicle exhaust.

After the war we in Minsk continued to live, knowing absolutely nothing, remembering nothing about Kurapaty, where the trees had been cut down but grew anew

and the common graves had sunk after being emptied, but not completely, by "someone" after the war. (The Germans did the same when they were abandoning the occupied lands. Yes, this means that someone did remember what we had so obediently forgotten; "he" and "they" remembered their deeds, frightened by the judgement of history!)

All of a sudden the Belorussian newspaper LITARA-TURA I MASTATSTVA published an article written by Zenon Poznyak and Yevgeniy Shmygalov (with a contribution by Vasilii Bykov) entitled "Kurapaty: The Road of Death," which told of the excavations carried out near Minsk in May of this year.

It turned out that there, where many Minsk families liked to relax with their children, where they enjoyed picnics—this hilly, pine-covered place called Kurapaty—was the location of bones, of skulls with bullet holes, of a hidden crime (not deep underground, but under the grass, under the yellow sand!) Thousands and thousands of corpses had been hidden in more than 500 common graves! No wonder there were strange undulations in the ground; not one meter was free of a hillock or trough!

Even after the 20th Congress jokes were being told (it is surprising to realize our capacity for telling and listening to jokes about something like Chernobyl!) about how a Soviet man should behave if you beat him with the pole of his banner. Should the mechanism of forgetfulness be even more efficient here?

The time to remember has finally arrived. Ray Bradbury wrote that at some time we will have remembered so much that we will dig the deepest grave in the world. To forgetfulness, one may add. At that time, in the 1970's, they—those who emptied the graves—were able to empty if not our memory, then the memory of future generations. We must not permit more robbing of the memory. Regardless of who may want this.

This trend still exists. In attempts to salve our conscience by making references to historical precedent (did not all revolutions consume their children?); by historical inevitability; even by patriotism (everything, even something like this, "that which is ours," should be loved); by even having the victims of 1929-1933 go after those caught up in the Stalinist madness of 1937—this is what it came to!

Well, we should not be surprised. Did not an author making such statements visit us in Minsk in 1970 to explain away the extermination of 80 percent of Belorussian writers, using the logic that "even Kupala and Kolas were imprisoned"? Likewise, does a clever housewife not thin out her carrot patch to obtain a better crop? This is what was said—directly to an entire Belorussian literature institute, and we did not throw him out the door. Some people even saw him off on the train (he was a guest, after all). We also had to listen to how we are blood-related Slavs.

Another example of the time showing such tolerance for the intolerable! Why should we be surprised at the zig-zag pattern perestroika is describing, if writers do not always display especially pure thinking?

Yes, a monument to the victims of Stalinist repressions and lawlessness, a memorial in Moscow—these are good things. But what about the Kurapaty near Minsk?

Work has already begun on the study of materials and documents. After the newspaper article cited convincing evidence, the Procuracy brought a criminal suit based on the human remains at Kurapaty, the first time in our history that such an action was taken relative to a crime committed by the State. A government committee was organized, but the public attending the meeting expressed dissatisfaction over the bureaucratic and secret selection of the committee members. People demanded that the latter include Vasilii Bykov, who is trusted for his honesty and objectivity. Something has remained in the graves emptied by someone and is being thoroughly examined. Work is being done in archives, and once again witnesses from the villages surrounding the Kurapaty are being questioned.

How many Kurapaty are there in other republics, in large and small towns? Not to speak of the "capitals of the Gulag": Magadan, Vorkuta and vicinity, Dudinka, Norilsk...

Where does my Glusha fit in, with one-third of its prewar glass workers gone in the far-off icy bowels of Gulag? What do we do with our remembrances and pain, our offerings of flowers? I have already suggested that we add to the monument to workers lost from the settlement of Glusha (fallen at the front and in partisan service, (102)) this number (82). For these 82 persons are also victims of the war—the anti-people war of the dictator.

Pain, bitterness with every step, with each breath and pulse of memory—this is the consequence of the Stalin cult. Let those who are still ardent admirers of the executioner know that instead of the monuments they are accustomed to, they will see other monuments—remembrances of their idol—in many corners of our earth.

In the Kurapaty location in Minsk it is not merely a monument that one sees; it, the same as in Moscow, is a memorial research center. We must finally achieve a complete understanding of what happened to us, to our society. How can we otherwise move toward a law-abiding, democratic State? Zenon Poznyak, the historian and archeologist, who brought attention to the Kurapaty, is today the moral center of this work. He—an unflinching and truth-oriented individual—is the kind of person that is helping advance perestroika.

Deserving of mention in this Minsk story is another event, with its immediate change in temperature of perestroika and accompanying change in life. This is

another example of how times have changed in Minsk, which has recently gained the sad reputation of an anti-perestroika Vandeya as a result of efforts exerted by certain social scientists and ideological managers. In this case, however, they were powerless when thousands of people—inhabitants of the villages—joined together to hold a meeting at Kurapaty. They bore posters reading: "Stalin—The Executioner", with elderly women carrying candles. They were awaited by columns of buses which were standing conveniently and were asked: "Would it not be better, citizens, for us all to ride to the opera theater for a meeting?" The usual conviction held by managers that they know what is best for the people, along with a refusal to deal with the natural feelings of people. For how else are they to express their pain if not at the location of the tragedy?

It should come as no surprise that young nonconformists—writers from TOLOKA—took the initiative at the meeting at Kurapaty and conducted it with tact and responsibility that were unexpected for persons of that age.

I can tell you that yet another serious barrier to perestroika being erected for many months and constantly fought against by Vasil Bykov alone was destroyed by him, with some sections of the barrier falling down all at once. No, Pavlov, Bovsh, Zalesskiy, Begun, Ignatenko, Malashko, and others still feel on top. Quite recently, after Kurapaty, at various academic and VUZ sessions and "round tables," they repeated their accusations against workers of Belorussian culture and literature, many of whom had already been rehabilitated after the 20th Congress. But even after the 27th they are still pressing their point. They read and give warm welcome to the report "Stalin: A Political Leader" (I saw the poster myself), while the people were carrying placards reading: "Stalin—The Executioner." Well, the argument has been taken out into the street, something that is fatal for our "philosophers." Have you ever listened to our ideologists delivering a speech before a present-day crowd? There is no sight, no comparison with anything else on earth that is sadder than that! The Kurapaty affair proved that it was only because of the youth from TOLOKA, who took on the responsibility of maintaining order and discipline that these people were not chased in shame from the meeting.

Is Vandeya to be accepted along with Kurapaty? Such a combination cannot continue indefinitely.

Look around! The past demands our bold and unflinching examination. It is ready to come to our aid and it is doing so, in the struggle for the future, for humane, law-abiding, truly people's socialism. We would like to believe that this is possible.

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Memorials to be Erected to Belorussian Purge Victims

18000206 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 23 Oct 88 p 3

[BELTA Article: "Memory Without 'Blank Spots'"]

[Text] "Assuredly the worst evil is a nation's ignorance of the facts," declared Belorussian writer Vasil Bykov in his speech to a congress of the Belorussian Historical-Educational Society. This organization has taken it upon itself to resurrect the memory of the tragic facts of Stalin's repressions in the republic.

"Martirolog of Belorussia" (taken from the Greek "Tales of the Martyrs"), which brings together about 200 representatives of various nationalities, is reconstructing a chronicle of the human and material losses the Belorussian nation suffered at various stages of its history.

The union of writers, cinematographers and editors of the newspaper LITARATURA I MASTATSTVA are members of the society. On the society's agenda is the erection in Minsk of a number of memorials to victims of Stalinism. Among these is a memorial collection in Kuropaty Woods on the site of mass executions. Also planned are an informational-research center, a museum and a library.

Moldavian CC Official: Mistake to Ignore Republic People's Fronts

18000141a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 28 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by A. Plugaru, deputy chief of the section for the administrative bodies of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee: "Looking Truth in the Eyes." Words/Passages in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] During the spring and summer of this year we have added to our political vocabulary several unusual terms: **democratic (informal) association, movement, people's front and so forth. It must be said that our attitude to these up to now has differed, it has been the most varied with the most diverse and at times completely opposing viewpoints.**

They have come into our lives differently: some have been taken up with pleasure as something due and long expected while others have hurried to give these new terms (and hence the corresponding phenomena) the epithet of "so-called" unambiguously and scornfully and even indignantly, pointing out here their informal, unofficial character and that they, supposedly, are not registered, they have not been recognized by anyone and so forth. This cold restraint and even the rejection would be comprehensible if the very procedure and conditions of their legalization were in order....

But let us not, as they say, find fault with the words, let us leave this for a more thorough discussion on the questions of the culture of polemics. Moreover, certainly many at present use such phrases simply as such, without the intention of insulting anyone.

Let us better recall how suddenly, almost simultaneously, as if by arrangement, the democratic movement in support of restructuring appeared in several regions of the nation. It arose in our republic at the end of May and the beginning of June of the current year.

Then came the work of setting up support groups, a series of large assemblies and meetings of which one must point out the instructional meetings held in the Baltic republics for the participants of the movement (People's Front) with the delegates of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Finally, there were the constituent congresses of this movement in the capitals of the mentioned Baltic republics. Our mass information media did not skip over these designated serious structural changes in the political organization of Soviet society. One has merely to point to the recent materials in PRAVDA on these questions. Presently, it seems that everyone has already realized that the appended "so-called" to this offspring of restructuring has at least an unconvincing ring, in the spirit of the times of stagnation....

Those who have tried and are trying to ascertain what is the democratic movement in support of restructuring, the People's Front raises many other questions such as: what are its goals, tasks, forms and methods of work? What are they striving for? What attitude should we (the communists, in particular) assume toward it?

My ideas on certain of these questions I would like to share with you, respected reader. Certainly it is a question of only a personal viewpoint which in no way claims to be an indisputable judgment. And what sort of indisputableness can this be if in essence it is a question, to put it figuratively, of a newborn child where only its face can be seen in the swaddling clothes.... Quite on the contrary, I would be grateful for the opportunity to learn of other opinions and views on these not simple questions.

Hence, let us begin with what, in my view, does not raise any doubt. The spontaneously arising democratic movement in support of restructuring in its various forms is the product of restructuring and a specific result of the policy conducted by the party of glasnost, democratization and the gradual creation of a profoundly democratic, humane state of law.

In truth, one encounters (and certainly not without justification) the opinion that this movement has always existed and restructuring has merely created favorable conditions for its flourishing and development. But however the case, this is no longer a theory, not a naked

appeal, but rather actual practice, the living practice of restructuring and because of this should be subjected to the most attentive and careful study, analysis and generalization.

It is also indisputable that this is a form of combating stagnation and the resistance to restructuring and a developing form for incorporating a significant portion of the public in this struggle. If everything were going smoothly and simply, there would not be any need for this support.

Precisely what portion of the public is involved in the movement. It is obvious that it is not the most indifferent, quite the contrary. One who disdains everything, who has everything, who will stay at home, has no need for politics and is usually an idler anyway. Or the one who has not realized what is happening to us, or what unpleasant things are occurring in society and the state, this is also not necessary. Nor is it necessary for one who has something to lose from the new orders. This is also not necessary for any poor or dispirited person. Well, it must be said, over the decades of stagnation the ranks of such people have grown. But then who is involved? I feel that it is primarily the true citizens, ordinary people who have still not lost their conscience and honor and who are motivated by pain and experience, by a sincere concern for the fate of our Soviet man and our society. Certainly, also gravitating to it will be the person insulted and offended by the heartlessness and insolence of the bureaucrat, by the social injustice, corruption, falseness and so forth. I also feel that the movement is necessary for all of those who, like our party, together with it wish to put an end to this.

However, let us not close our eyes to the fact that the engaging in politics is also an excellent milieu for another part of our society (let us hope that this is only an insignificant minority). I have in mind the other "affronted" persons who have rightly suffered from the laws of Soviet power, those who dream only about personal enrichment, of accumulating political capital at any price, who extol their national exclusiveness or are blind by a chauvinistic superiority by the "right" of a larger nation and those, finally, who with great satisfaction fan the dark instincts of the uncontrolled crowd and would thereby lead the movement to an inglorious end.

For this reason it is essential to have clarity, it is essential to have a demarcation, a fixed and immediate definition of who is who, who gets what and what is required. This is very, very difficult both for the definers and for those being defined.... Possibly, this is the problem of problems in the times being lived through by us. But let us examine what is going on in the souls of millions of people who presently recognize that over the decades they were deceived, belittled, they were illegally imprisoned and sacrificed, in depicting all of this as the

construction of socialism. Just try to figure out who out of the millions upon millions who out of conviction accepted restructuring but accepted it in fact, and so forth and so forth.

Who at present can uncertainly and for all instances, precisely and unerringly point to the agents of that very mechanism of inhibition? No matter how difficult and complicated this might be, we must learn to distinguish the demagogue from the honest and principled man, the nationalist from a person with an elementary and natural feeling of national dignity, a love for his own and, hence, for other peoples. Finally, we must spot the extremist in the one who mouths unpleasant criticism but rather in the one who actually directly urges (or in another way inclines) toward the destruction of our principles, for the putting of peoples into opposition and other absurd and dangerous adventures. And why do we not see this in the conservative who is holding up restructuring? The conservative is also an extremist, but only on the other side, and causes just as much harm. And just how is this to be done, how are we to recognize them, you might ask?

Certainly the reply has long been given by the party Central Committee and there is no need to expect, seek out or think up anything new. It is very simple and has been just as simply defined: the unceasing search for new forms and methods of work, a party attitude toward restructuring, the presence of concrete, affirmative deeds to purge, renew and improve our socialist home. But what if these concrete deeds do not exist? What is behind the words except more words? And no matter how banal this sounds for the one thousandth time, it is only from here that one must begin any elucidation of relationships and must always be clear: who is the active supporter of restructuring and who is an ordinary political parasite? Generally speaking, I feel that the demarcation must be drawn everywhere: both in the party, in the state and in society. We must not allow them to hide behind the backs of others and they must be deprived of the opportunity to sit it out on the sidelines in hoping to wait "for better, clearer times." Too many of that "wise" kind have risen who wait until the strong, the desperate and the dedicated break their lances and slay one another, and then themselves emerge, wave their fists a little and now, free of any competition, collect the rewards....

Really, is not all our history an excellent illustration of this? The finest forces of the party and the people have always been in the front ranks, in the thick of events, on the front line from whence not everyone returned. In the fight for our ideals, they were killed by the hand of the external enemies as well as by even more terrible enemies, the internal ones, by their own who thus made their way in life and rose higher and higher. This is the source of the evolution of our socialist mediocrity. And we are beginning to realize well enough that it does not drive progress and the maximum it is capable of is a corrupted, spiritless and hopeless stagnation. This is the best habitat for it and here it is like a fish in water. It has everything in complete order, calm and well-being and

such paltry creatures live according to the principle of "after us the deluge...." For this reason they do not tolerate the slightest sign of dissident thought, they impose silence and there is hypocritical retribution for any criticism. And now the different environment, today's, for example, is very disagreeable and fatal for them. Glasnost and democracy have the same affect on them (here let the reader forgive my reference to household chemistry as I cannot refrain from the enticement of giving precisely this comparison!) as Chlorophos has on fat and buzzing flies....

So this "insecticide" association arises when we attend the individual demonstrations of the democratic movement. In truth, these flies are very similar to the beast driven into the corner but let us hope that there will be enough Chlorophos.... That the party members loyal to the cause of Lenin along with all honest people this time will win a victory.

Hence, what is good in this movement and what is bad? And how did it arise and how long will it last? Who are its allies and who its opponents? Of course, there is nothing bad in this and can we really find not to our liking the long-awaited rebirth of the political activeness of our citizens, their attempts to become adjusted and help the party in the critical moment of ridding itself of the atmosphere of buck-passing, nepotism, favoritism and the Mafia. And why, actually, must the party be helped, is it incapable of straightening itself out?

And can one conceive of the party's activities away from the people? The party without the people is an empty sound and this, as they say, is the very rudiments of Marxism-Leninism. The problem primarily is that the party itself is suffering from complex, contradictory and torturous processes.

The reasons are known and we will not take them up here. The party Central Committee, our press and the other mass information media in recent years have pointed out and named these with sufficient persuasiveness and thoroughness. Here let us recall only what we all realize well enough but still do not say completely openly: all the former and now unmasked, removed, condemned highly-placed party members whose true face we are only recognizing now, all of them for decades have recruited and promoted similar persons to key, responsible positions. The latter have done the same on all levels of the party and state hierarchical ladder.

Thus we cannot deceive ourselves with the hope that this element will take up and immediately foster restructuring. Rather the reverse.... For this reason there is only the hope that the healthy part of the party is still stronger and under such circumstances it in any event needs direct assistance and the additional and energetic aid of the honestly working people. And the people see and understand all of this, regardless of our attempts not to say it out loud and avoid the actual name of these things. But we cannot go on with this self-deception and this

deceiving surrogate of "all is well." Thus we inevitably will arrive at the puzzling and unanswerable question: "Can everyone be 'for' but still there is no restructuring.... Why?"

As a result, what we, the communists, keep back, what we do not complete for various reasons is taken up by the participants of the democratic movement in support of restructuring.

According to my observations, the criticism heard here of the party is not directed against the party generally but rather against its individual members, against those communists (and not only communists) who in one way or another impede restructuring, who have not yet taken an active part in it and who cause it to languish. Here it is a question of those who violate our laws, who have been engaged or are engaged in padding and deception, in various deceit of the party and people, who do not handle their duties, do not defend the interests of the workers and so forth. Thus, judging from everything, quite legitimately the movement does have a partial antiparty focus and in this sense it is an unique healthy opposition. But this, of course, is not an opposition party or something other of this sort. But how did this come about, if our Communist Party widely represents all the people and it expresses the interests of all the people? It does not have and cannot have different interests. Otherwise, it is not a communist party.

Nothing (even the current very serious testing) is capable of derailing the party and it has found the strength and is getting rid of the malaise of stagnation which has beset it.

Actually, this cannot be otherwise as this has been predetermined by the popular nature of the party (20 million communists mean something!), it is of the people and for the people, and for this reason regardless of everything, it has the trust and support of the people. And so it will since, in creating favorable conditions for all forms of a positive and constructive criticism, a free exchange of opinions, in respecting the right of others to their own opinion, and in guaranteeing real opportunities for defending one's own position and protecting the interests of other social organizations, the party in fact creates a mechanism for taking into account the entire diversity of opinions, interests and conditions for elaborating an optimum policy which reflects the interests of all the people. Under such circumstances, as was recently said by the Politburo Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V.A. Medvedev, "it makes no sense to artificially create other parties as opponents of CPSU policy."

Thus, the democratic movement has set the goal for itself of fighting along with the party for restructuring and for carrying out the tasks posed by the party.

A different understanding of the relations of the party with the democratic movement would inevitably lead to confrontation. A businesslike, reasonable collaboration

between the movement and the party is inevitable and it obviously will continue until the reasons which have given rise to it will disappear and its goals and tasks are carried out. It (the movement), judging from everything, is also a new, fresh and vital form of social self-government. Of particular interest are the specific forms for realizing the control functions which this movement has assumed as a movement of voters.

Probably, no one would dispute the validity and, most importantly, the necessity of such control (see Articles 48-51 of the USSR Constitution and the appropriate articles of the republic Constitution). Certainly it is clear that the current forms of people's control have not worked properly before and clearly do not satisfy the demands of today. For this reason, in my view, the commissions set up by the movement, the councils of specialists, experts, the various pollings, initiatives and appeals will have a number of positive results. And certainly an active deputy or a future candidate for the trust of the people will finally begin to reflect: will they recall him, will they vote for him and so forth.

Having now discussed all of this, let us say even more definitely, the democratic movement in support of restructuring is primarily a movement of voters. This is probably the main feature which brings all its members together. Neither party membership, age, occupation or other criteria are of importance for membership in the movement; the only important thing is a concretely expressed support for restructuring but always in their mass they are the voters. And as this is the case, let us also imagine what is the mood and response of the person who has not always merited the wearing of the deputy badge of one or another importance. Will he calmly contemplate and welcome this movement which without beating around the bush and with the rectitude of an honest citizen poses the question point blank? But there is another side of the coin. In the movement everything is mixed together: both a sincere concern for the fate of restructuring, extremism, and insult (even if merited) for a committed malfeasance and much else. And if the members of the movement are voters, however you look at it, there is always the agitation "pro" and "contra." In such an instance can the party members leave this to the whim of fate?

Can we be confident that its spontaneous flow, without the active involvement of the best communists, without the indispensable participation of the finest representatives of the nonparty masses, will lead to the forming of a strong, healthy deputy corps which tomorrow will lead and support restructuring? Or if still the upper hand is gained by the shouters, the demagogues and other irresponsible persons (why is our world not poor in these?). Yes, yes! And those in one way or another, whatever we do, merely would make a career on the wave of restructuring....

But is there any guarantee? Can one rest assured? For this reason, many of us must understand the obvious: the party at present has no more suitable sphere for political

work. And we must not look with suspicion and dissatisfaction toward this movement but rather, as a believer would say, thank God that one has been given an audience which so burns with the desire to understand and work for restructuring. But, as atheists, we should stress that we owe all of this to precisely restructuring and, as I am profoundly convinced, all of us, the party members, should now (and we should have yesterday...) provided all possible assistance to this movement, take an active part in it and do everything possible to protect it against everything that is not valid for true socialism and the higher interests of the people. Incidentally, it would be interesting to learn from those who think differently on this question: just what are the variations for using the excited energy of the masses—not the good intentions and castles in the air following the plans of the previous architects but rather realistic, vital proposals that have been thoroughly thought out and are soundly reasoned.

At times, amazing things occur (they are amazing at first glance). Thus, at the conference it was said precisely and clearly: "We must view as a positive phenomenon the recent rise of a number of new social associations and groupings which have set as their goal the assisting of the cause of socialist renewal. The conference at the same time condemns any activities aimed at undermining the socialist underpinnings of society, fanning national and racial hostility or preaching war, violence and amorality."

Just what are we, comrades, doing?

The natural and completely justified, necessary concern for the healthy development of the democratic processes in the republic is often qualified as the inhibiting of restructuring, conservatism, chauvinism and so forth while just as natural (and completely justified!) concern and indignation on the part of others for the observed actual resistance and sabotaging of restructuring are styled as simply nationalism, extremism and the violating of public order and so forth. Moreover, in terms of the latter, things have reached the point of direct appeals to shut them up, to hold them liable, while in the first instance steadily and repeatedly (and not only in a whisper) it has reached the point where individual secretaries of the Central Committee intentionally and maliciously endeavor to nip this movement in the bud and consider all its members a collection of nationalists, extremists and other misfits. And all of this after the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and other inferior party organizations, after the memorable Fourth Plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, strictly reprimanded thousands of persons just for padding and deception.

Just in line with such a form of deception of the state, starting in 1984, over a hundred persons were removed from the position held for failure in their job and were held criminally liable or disciplined and compensation

sought for the material losses suffered by society. For these reasons, several-score deputies of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet were recalled.

Those who are still not sufficiently persuaded can in addition see the movie "Lords and Servants" and reflect and realize who else, except the authors, has shown party principledness and civil courage and who has stood (and is standing now) at the sources of this prerogative work, this very acute and unsafe political struggle.

In Moldavia, it seems to me, much earlier than in the other regions of the country (probably since the adoption of the well-known Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 12 December 1983 "On the Work of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee in Improving the Style and Methods of Activities of the Party Organizations in Light of the Decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee," extensive work was commenced and carried out (and it is still going on) to purge the cadre apparatus and to instill order in the observance of housing legislation, in investigating complaints and statements of the workers as well as in other areas of restoring and establishing legality and social justice.

Precisely since then our republic has ceased to be a zone off-limits to criticism.

Just over the period since January 1984 and through October 1988, as a result of interference by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the violated rights and interests of the citizens have been restored following 13,300 complaints and statements. Scores of private houses, guest houses and prestige facilities have been turned over to children's institutions, hospitals and so forth (see, for example, *Sovetskaya Moldaviya* of 16 September of the current year). If all of this did not relate to restructuring, then we would merely be out of step with our conscience. Of course, there still are many acute unsolved problems, but these can scarcely be resolved in a single sweep. This is very, very difficult.

The opportunities of a newspaper article do not allow me to give a whole series of such examples and this is not its purpose. We always see primarily what we want to see.... More often this is something very essential to someone. The fanning of such passions, the setting of not always informed persons against the party, considering that the party itself has moved decisively toward an open and uncompromising criticism of errors and omissions, has, judging from everything, far-reaching aims.

So, after this, leave the movement about which we have been speaking, avoid contacts with it, do not inform others of what it is doing and how and so forth. Thus, we again reach the conclusion that the ignoring of the democratic movement in support of restructuring and even worse the impeding of its normal (and very essential to restructuring) development is a politically harmful exercise. This is a mistake, in my view.

As for the fears that the genie once released will be difficult to return to its bottle and that such a movement can develop into an uncontrollable mob and so forth and so forth, I can only reiterate that we have a fully operative Constitution which clearly draws the line the crossing of which can invoke authority: "The exercising of rights and liberties by citizens should not cause harm to the interests of society and the state or to the rights of other citizens" (Article 39 of the USSR Constitution and Article 37 of the Moldavian Constitution).

A law has been adopted and is in effect which regulates the procedure by which Soviet citizens exercise their political rights and freedoms. I do not think that there are many around who are not aware that this law is aimed primarily at ensuring public safety and protecting our citizens against various forms of anarchy, extremism, national hostility and even against various manifestations of fascism the evil indications of which we still do encounter.

Incidentally, the seeds of this terrible ideology, as life shows, can also sprout under our conditions. They always find good soil where there are disorder, economic difficulties, dissatisfaction with the standard of living and so forth. The mentioned law protects us from this as well as from any other antisocialist manifestations. This and nothing else is its law-defending essence and no one should entertain any doubts that everything which runs contrary to the interests of socialism and the working people will be decisively checked by the bodies empowered to do so. For this reason I feel that against such a political-legal background, everything that works for restructuring, including the sociopolitical movement which we have been discussing today, has good conditions for development. But here it is very important to show maximum patience for a different opinion and a sincere desire to reach a common denominator in the search for correct, optimum solutions through the very complicated labyrinth of social relations.

Such a movement is a normal phenomenon in a democratic society and is the first indication, the dependable evidence that democracy and a state of the law are being born and that they are alive. And let no one confuse its not always correct steps, even its individual errors and weaknesses, for instance, the lack for now of an opportunity to decisively eliminate the politically dishonest elements who gravitate to it. No one has taught us democracy, quite on the contrary. For this reason, we must learn it now, on the way and by everyone without exception. This is the only way of a natural democratic association of the best forces in our society in the very complex creative work which now confronts us.

We simply do not have any other alternative to the difficulties confronting us (and over the next 2 or 3 years there will be many of these), and of this I am profoundly convinced.

P.S. Having read through this article, an old party worker told me:

"Sign with some pseudonym."

"Why?" I asked. "Certainly you must look the truth in the eyes...."

Armenian Officials Meet To Plan 'Normalization' in Educational Institutions

*18300099a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
6 Oct 88 p 1*

[Armenpress report: "A Meeting in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting attended by the leaders and secretaries of party organizations at higher educational establishments in Yerevan has taken place in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Urgent measures to normalize the situation in the republic's VUZes were considered.

The chancellor of the Yerevan State University S.A. Ambartsumyan, chancellor of the Yerevan Medical Institute V.P. Akopyan, chancellor of the Yerevan Institute of the Arts and Theater V.A. Mkrtchyan, the vice-chancellor of the Yerevan Polytechnical Institute imeni K. Marx K.A. Sarkisyan, party secretary of the Armenian Pedagogical Institute imeni Kh. Abovyan G.Ye. Kirakosyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Myasnikyanskiy raykom G.A. Muradyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers S.S. Avetisyan, first secretary of the Yerevan party gorkom M.S. Minasbekyan, Armenian Communist Party Central Committee secretary G.A. Galoyan, and sector chief in the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department V.A. Kondratyev, spoke at the meeting.

It was noted that party, soviet and public organizations are carrying out consistent and purposeful work to normalize the situation in the republic. In the complex situation that has taken shape a proper restraint and sober and principled assessment of the development of events must be shown by the republic leadership and party and soviet organs.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers appeal to communists and workers in the republic and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolutions have been of great importance.

Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro members and candidate members are constantly visiting industrial enterprises, construction and transport organizations, scientific establishments and educational institutions. During their meetings and candid conversations in the labor collectives they are providing answers to many of the questions worrying the workers

and explaining the facts that because of insufficient information have excessively heated passions and emotions. The overwhelming majority of workers in the republic support and approve the strategic line drawn up by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September (1988) Plenum for overcoming stagnation phenomena and normalizing the ideological-moral situation in the republic. While favoring a just resolution to the Karabakh problem, at the same time they decisively condemn the method of strikes, which do serious harm and cast a shadow over the good name of the Armenian people.

Despite the complex and tense situation in the republic the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and republic government are taking urgent steps concerned with social and economic development and solving ecological problems. As has already been noted, at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September (1988) Plenum it was decided to close the Armenian AES by 1991.

Republic leaders are maintaining close contacts with the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities Commission on Questions of Inter-Nation Relations headed by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities A.E. Voss, which has now arrived in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and with the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium now in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, A.I. Volskiy.

However, restoring normal life in the republic is being met with open opposition from antiperestroyka forces. Certain groups of people are trying in every possible way to heat up the situation, leading it to unpredictable explosive limits. Anti-Soviet and antigovernment slogans are now being proclaimed at unsanctioned meetings. Losing the support of broad strata of the workers the "Karabakh" leaders are appealing to young people, mainly the student body.

Disruption of the educational process during the last 2 weeks is a cause of serious concern. A strict assessment has been made of the activity of party committees and buros and VUZ chancellors who have been unable properly to organize communists and the teaching staffs to carry out explanatory work in the student body, exert their decisive influence on the state of affairs, and failed fully to fulfill the tasks set at the 26 August 1988 meeting of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The social sciences departments have been used poorly in the ideological-indoctrination work that has been done, and inadequate use has been made of their political and ideological potential.

It was pointed out that at this time not all VUZ teachers have been up to the mark or assumed clear-cut and principled positions, and some of them are flirting with irresponsible elements. It is impermissible that the VUZ

party organizations and chancellors' offices are failing to offer a proper, principled assessment of such phenomena, while the persons tolerating the acts are not being held responsible.

The work of the rayon party committees, the USSR Ministry of Education and the Komsomol organizations was criticized; their efforts have been inadequate in the matter of stabilizing the situation in the VUZes.

It is high time to make an end to the waiting game, it was stressed at the meeting. It is essential to increase the responsibility of all teachers and assess their work strictly and in a principled manner, and be exacting toward them in the matter of their fulfillment of the obligations laid upon them.

It is essential to direct the party aktiv and the most authoritative teachers in the student groups to conduct daily work in the student hostels. VUZ leaders and the party aktiv must be constantly among the students and engage in principled and frank dialogue with them. It is essential to strengthen work to shape the political awareness of students, strengthen educational discipline and deal strictly with violators of discipline.

Those present at the meeting expressed a number of claims against certain central and local organs of the mass media for their one-sided and sometimes distorted elucidation of events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Armenia. They said that untimely information creates a vacuum that is immediately filled with various kinds of rumors and conjectures. Thus, rumors circulated about student strikes that had allegedly occurred in Estonia, which does not correspond with the reality.

The meeting set the task for party organizations and VUZ chancellors to seize the initiative and deal strictly with those who promote destabilization of the situation and incite students to street demonstrations and strikes. It is essential not only to restore normal life to the VUZes but also effect within them a radical restructuring of the training-and-indoctrination process and normalize the moral and ethical atmosphere. It must not be forgotten that the future of our people depends on the level of knowledge among young people and their political standards and moral lineament.

First secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee S.G. Arutyunyan spoke at the meeting.

The following took part in the meeting: F.T. Sarkisyan, Yu.P. Kochetkov, T.A. Dilanyan, and G.G. Akopyan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department A.P. Melkonyan, and the Armenian SSR minister of education S.T. Akhumyan.

Armenian Educators Discuss 'Normalization' with Party Secretary Galoyan

18300099b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
9 Oct 88 p 2

[Armenpress report: A Meeting in the University"]

[Text] The task of dealing with the tense situation that has been created in the republic and restoring the normal work rhythm in all establishments, enterprises and educational establishments is today worrying everyone. This concern led to a gathering of the professorial and teaching staff of the university in the meeting hall of the education council where on 6 October a meeting took place with Armenian Communist Party Central Committee secretary G. Galoyan.

Sharing this concern, in his opening statement the chancellor of the university, academician of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences S. Ambartsumyan, underscored the extremely adverse effect of a prolonged boycott of classes on the quality of knowledge acquired by future specialists and on the process of shaping the inner world and moral lineament.

Comrade G. Galoyan provided comprehensive information on the situation that has been created in the republic, noted the cause of this and talked about the work done to normalize the situation.

Irresponsible statements to the effect that the republic leadership has allegedly retreated from its earlier positions in solving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem are without basis. The difficulties of the problem and the complexity of the ways to resolve it are being used by certain groups in order to make the situation worse.

He emphasized that under these conditions it is essential to mobilize all forces among communist teachers and the entire professorial and teaching staff to guide ideological work among the students into the correct channel and to restore the normal educational process.

The following then also spoke: vice-chancellor for training at the Yerevan State University Professor G. Garibdzhanyan, chief of the department of historical materialism and ethics Professor A. Ovsepyan, dean of the faculty of applied mathematics R. Tonoyan, docent in the department of history of the CPSU A. Mkrtchyan, dean of the geology department docent M. Grigoryan, the director of the university print shop S. Goyunyan, docent in the department of the history of the USSR A. Akopyan, corresponding member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences and chief of the department of Armenian literature G. Tamrazyan, dean of the philology faculty Professor G. Ananyan, academician of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences professor in the department of theoretical physics G. Saakyan, professor in the department of physical geography and geomorphology G. Gabrielyan, dean of the faculty of foreign students docent M. Nadiryan and others.

Those attending the meeting again dealing with the difficult and complex situation that has been created in the republic, unanimously expressed the opinion that it is essential to achieve a just solution to the Karabakh question, which will relax the situation. At the same time those speaking emphasized that unhealthy and suspicious trends can be discerned in the Karabakh movement, and at the meetings slogans and appeals are sometimes being issued that contradict the movement and in no way reflect the thoughts and aspirations of the Armenian people, who value highly the friendship of the Russian people and are loyal to the cause of the revolution and communism and the defense of their sacred motherland.

The mass media, which have not always publicized events, and sometimes publicized them not in an objective manner, were criticized.

It was noted that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September (1988) Plenum offered a comprehensive analysis of all spheres of our life and worked out a strategic course aimed at overcoming the phenomena of stagnation, normalizing the ideological-moral atmosphere and restoring social justice in the republic.

Those attending the meeting condemned the boycott of classes and the strikes and emphasized that these forms of struggle cannot promote a just solution to the Karabakh problem but will lead it into impasse.

In conclusion comrade G. Galoyan responded to the numerous questions from the representatives of the collective at the leading VUZ in the republic. The meeting took place in a businesslike and cordial atmosphere.

Chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department A. Melkonyan and the Armenian SSR minister of education S. Akhumyan were present at the meeting.

Armenian Education Minister on Student Involvement in Disturbances

18300099c Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
11 Oct 88 p 2

[Interview with Armenian Minister of Education Semen Tigranovich Akhumyan by Zh. Karapetyan: "Discussion Is Essential"; date and place not specified]

[Text] As in virtually all VUZes in the capital for 2 weeks now the normal rhythm of education has been disrupted. Sit-in demonstrations and student meetings are becoming larger with each passing day. We asked the republic minister of education Semen Tigranovich Akhumyan to comment on the situation that has taken shape.

[Karapetyan] It is clear from our conversations with schoolchildren and students that their "boycott" of classes is nothing more than a form of protest. They see no effective ways of solving the "Karabakh problem" and they know of none. How would you respond to them?

[Akhumyan] Let me say immediately that the situation is now extremely complex, and the apparently relatively calm atmosphere in no way means that there is not internal tension. But at this time all of us—teachers, students and schoolchildren, all who hold dear the just demands of the people—must analyze in depth the events that have taken place recently, starting in February, and define precise ways for our own future activity. What have the months of fired-up emotions and disturbances given us, what losses have been sustained, and how has the spiritual life of the Armenian people been enriched? And are the strikes at enterprises and in educational establishments not a retrograde step, putting a brake on education and the development of the republic? And this is no mere pathetic question; it is an urgent one.

It would be wrong to think that today's tense situation is connected only with the strikes. They are the consequence of the extraordinarily complex problems, including national problems, that have been building up for many years—problems that have become even more acute because of the Karabakh movement.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September Plenum called for concrete actions capable of resolving these questions. It called precisely for actions that must help in dealing with the tasks that face our republic today. We must all resolve them together; we understand how important unity and consolidation of all social forces now are. With regard to the recent boycott of classes by schoolchildren, I would like to state the following: although it is unprecedented it was not unexpected for us. The atmosphere that has now been heated up for several months had to have some effect on students also. They are the children of their fathers and mothers, their native land, and their sincere passions are understandable and explicable. Some teachers and school leaders have tried to resolve this problem with the help of recipes that are long since rusty and outworn, forgetting that they are not only useless but in some instances harmful. Our main task is to educate true and worthy citizens of a socialist country, capable of thinking boldly, independently and with initiative. This means that it is from precisely these positions that we must approach questions of instilling activeness and independence in the students.

Undoubtedly participation by schoolchildren in demonstrations and meetings is not advisable, and sometimes even harmful and dangerous. However, they cannot be artificially separated from the pulse of life in their own people. They are not some piece of work or mute mannequins programmed once and for all.

They are living people with their own temperaments, their own pain and injuries, their own boundless love and happiness. This must not be forgotten; it must be remembered constantly. Today's schoolchildren are tomorrow's citizens of our country, the future of our people, and much depends on how we, the teachers, relate to their creative, conscious (and sometimes unconscious) activity, and how we draw conclusions from what has occurred.

The same applies to the students in our VUZes. I categorically reject the idea that the strike is the only alternative in solving the complex tasks that now face us. I would like to say quite definitely that today the boycott of classes is a serious brake on the road of solving these tasks. Essentially it is hampering us, creating unnecessary tension and nervousness. I understand that much that is happening with respect to Nagorno-Karabakh is evoking justified dissatisfaction among the people. In particular, what I have in mind is distorted, non-objective, subjective and tendentious statements in the central press and on central television. And this must be dealt with decisively. But even if there were only one road, would it be the road of the strike? Of course not.

[Karapetyan] Semen Tigranovich, it is nevertheless probable that it is a sign of our times that students and schoolchildren have felt a desire to participate in solving urgent problems. For they have realized, inter alia, that these questions also affect the educational process...

[Akhumyan] The time has come for students to define clearly where they have the greater strength—in their own VUZes or on Opera Square? Today's situation reminds me of the outline of a ruined church: beautiful but empty. Classes should be conducted all the time in our educational institutions, and herein lies our strength. We must not lock the doors of the educational institutions. This is unnatural and unreasonable. Look at the centuries of our people's history. Even in the bloodiest days of tragedy our schools were never closed. And this showed the great and invincible spiritual strength of our people. Just remember that!

We are living through an important stage in the evolution of the "Karabakh" question. Having heard and understood the voice of the people and their demands and hopes, the party and government are taking effective steps to find a solution to the painful impasse that has been created, and to find a solution to the problem. Unfortunately, however, we are still confusing the concept of democracy and glasnost with complete license. Like any kind of anarchy, it has been, is, and will be a destructive force, and we must learn to create and to start from concrete and real issues, resolving problems, both painful and chronic, that have just now come to the center of public attention in this period of upsurge in people's social activeness resulting from the Karabakh movement.

So many questions requiring immediate solutions have been building up in the VUZes and schools, and so many tasks now confront us in restructuring the educational system. In fact, for many years students and schoolchildren have been pushed aside from active participation in the affairs of their own educational institutions. It is pleasing that they have now sloughed off their former distrust of their own strengths and want to make their contribution to this national cause. But how? How can they do this? Up to now, alas! this is how it has been: a lot of noise but no concrete action. You will perhaps disagree with me but let us face the truth head on, dear students. What work have you done and what have you achieved in this time? Is it enough to call for unity while remaining split, is it sensible to resort to a boycott of classes thus condemning yourselves to inactivity? My opinion in this matter is unambiguous: yes, it is essential that meetings of schoolchildren and student collectives and the decisions that they make necessarily be given the attention of the appropriate organs, so that if they are just the proposals and demands that they put forward can be given specific answers and decisions adopted. But this does not mean that on any pretext students can issue ultimatums in the form of refusing to attend classes. This is unreasonable and lacking seriousness. I would like to ask a question of students in return: strictly speaking, how many proposals and what kind of proposals have you presented to the Ministry of Education for consideration and resolution? Very few. How completely are you realizing your right to be involved in management of the educational process? Up to now, very timidly and indecisively.

And the just demands of schoolchildren have already been effectively and operationally decided. The number of hours devoted to studies of the history of the Armenian people in schools has been doubled, a competition has been announced for a new textbook on this subject, which, we hope, will present our past in all its fullness and complexity, without silences or embellishments of events and facts. And there is another innovation: in schools where teaching is in Russian, the history of the Armenian people is taught if students so desire, and it will be taught in their native tongue. Concrete efforts are already being made to create all necessary conditions for more in-depth studies of the Armenian and Russian languages in the schools.

Our common task is now to separate the wheat from the chaff and learn to distinguish the just demands of our people from irresponsible statements and appeals that serve merely to hamper our advance. And, like the Estonians, let us be able to answer unambiguously the question of what is being created in Armenia: "Perestroyka!" And this relates first and foremost to our young people, for as Raffi said, "For me the activity of youth is sacred since it is the expression of new life and new strength." But new life and new strength cannot be born out of noisy inertia. It is essential to work sensibly and effectively.

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to propose that a discussion of the problems of national education be initiated on the pages of KOMSOMOLETS. This will help the newly created republic Ministry of Education to take its first confident steps and mark the points of contact along the road of cooperation with students and schoolchildren in the successful realization of perestroyka in the system of national education.

From the Editor

Following publication in KOMSOMOLETS of the latest reportage from Teatralnyy Square on the continuing hunger strike there, the telephones in the editorial offices have been ringing endlessly. People are expressing their concern and alarm about the health of those involved. Most of them rightly believe that such an extreme way of expressing demands is fraught with tragic consequences and cannot influence the just resolution of a problem as complex as the "Karabakh" problem. However, the hunger strike continues. Eleven people located at the Marshall Bagramyan metro station have joined those on Teatralnyy Square. It is difficult for us to report to our readers the exact number of people on hunger strike since the numbers change from day to day. One thing is obvious: they do not want to abandon the form of struggle chosen and they demand immediate satisfaction of the demands that they have made. Arshaluys Ayrapetyan and Tornik Mstoyan, about whom we wrote in a previous reportage, ended their hunger strike on the evening of 3 October.

ArSSR: Party Scores Plant Officials For Financial Mismanagement, Other Failings

18300073a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
1 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party"]

[Text] A meeting of the Buro of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party has been held.

It examined a note from the CPSU Central Committee's Party Control Committee entitled "On Distortions in State Accounts and Violations in Financial and Economic Activity Committed by the Directors of the Razdanskiy Mashinostroitel Production Association in the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry."

The discussion pointed out that an inspection by the CPSU Central Committee's Party Control Committee in the Razdanmash Production Association (its general director is Comrade T. A. Ter-Petrosyan and its party committee secretary is Comrade Kh. M. Grigoryan) revealed that instances of distortions in state accounts concerning the fulfillment of production plans had occurred and that the required accounting of incomplete production, raw materials and materials had not taken place. Inventorying was conducted with little efficiency. It often had a superficial and formal nature, did not

reflect the true state of affairs and did not contribute to an advance notification of mismanagement and the strengthening of state discipline.

As a result of the lack of control permitted by the association's directors and the central bookkeeping office during February-March 1985, items worth 700,000 rubles, which included 539,000 rubles of equipment without a justification, were listed in the report on the fulfillment of the plan for gross and sold products. This permitted the sale plan to be fulfilled by 100.4 percent (instead of the actual 97.4 percent) and the payment of a bonus totalling 289,000 rubles to the employees and engineer and technical workers.

The inspection also determined that the Razdan-201 three-program loudspeakers, which were produced until 1986, did not have any consumer demand. They lay in the warehouses and became worthless. Of the 138,100 loudspeakers inspected in 1985, 69,472 required repairs and 7,313 were worthless and destined to be written off. They were written off in accordance with an act approved by Comrade T. A. Ter-Petrosyan, the association's general director, without the permission of the higher organization. This was a gross violation of existing procedures. Part of them were destroyed by burning. The total losses were 47,000 rubles. In November 1987, a shortage of 2,996 loudspeakers was discovered in the finished product warehouse; however, no official investigation was conducted on this and steps were not taken to punish the guilty parties.

Serious deficiencies in accounting for incomplete production exist in the association. They systematically misrepresent the actual value of stocks of raw materials, materials and purchased component parts located in the warehouses by increasing or decreasing it.

When compiling annual reports, the bookkeeping department has artificially adjusted the amounts of incomplete production. This has led to a distortion in its actual amounts and the factual data on the fulfillment of the plans for gross production. On 4 April 1988, a ministry order imposed severe administrative penalties on Comrade T. A. Ter-Petrosyan, the general director; Comrade N. G. Khachatryan, the chief bookkeeper; and Comrade O. Yu. Golovyana, the deputy director for economics, for distorting the state accounts and failing to supply the necessary direction to organizing the accounting of incomplete production. The ministry required the association directors to make a complete inventory of incomplete production. The inventory was made in a formal manner and did not reflect the actual state of affairs.

The Buro of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee pointed out that the association's party committee did not exercise sufficient control over the activity of the administration and the communists in improving production efficiency, did not place the necessary demands on the directing personnel for violations of

state discipline and for accelerating the restructuring of their work style and methods, and poorly influenced the raising of the primary party organizations' militancy.

In the situation that had taken shape in connection with events in Nagorniy Karabakh, the directors and party organizations were not able to lead the people, keep them from rash actions, head collectives, and explain to them the political harm from strikes.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro relieved Comrade T. A. Ter-Petrosyan from his duties as general director of the Razdanmash Production Association because of his distortion of the state account, the violations committed in the financial and economic activity of the association, and his failure to insure the necessary discipline and order which led to a worsening of the moral and political atmosphere in the work collective and to a serious economic situation in the enterprise.

It was taken into consideration that the Armenian Communist Party Razdanskiy Raykom Buro had issued a stern reprimand to CPSU member T. A. Ter-Petrosyan and entered it on his record card.

Comrade Kh. M. Grizoryan, secretary of the Razdanmash Production Association's party committee, was reprimanded for the low level of the political, organizational, ideological, and indoctrinational work of the party committee and primary party organizations; for the lack of the necessary demands on communists; and for the insufficient monitoring of the activity of the administration.

Comrade R. L. Stepanyan, manager of a department in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, was given a stern warning because of his uncritical evaluation of the situation that had taken shape in the Razdanmash Production Association and the lack of the necessary exactingness toward management personnel for the state of affairs in the sector entrusted to them.

A department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee was commissioned to analyze the state of affairs in the association thoroughly and comprehensively, take radical steps to eliminate the serious shortcomings and omissions that had been pointed out, and increase exactingness on management personnel.

The Armenian Communist Party Razdanskiy Raykom was commissioned to increase the level of party and organizational work by the Razdanmash Production Association's party organization and to examine the question of the party responsibility of persons guilty of the committed distortions in the state account and the violations of financial discipline.

The Buro of the Armenian Communist Party central Committee required the association's party committee to take the necessary steps to eliminate the serious

shortcomings and violations that had been pointed out, normalize the moral and political atmosphere in the collective, exercise effective control over the activity of the administration, and increase the militancy of the primary party organizations and the activity of the communists and members of the work collective in unconditionally implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The Armenian SSR Procurator's Office was commissioned to check on the status of protecting socialist property and the accounting of the material valuables in the Razdanmash Production Association and report the inspection's results to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Buro examined and basically approved the general administration schedules of the Armenian SSR Ministry of Light Industry and Ministry of Local Industry. The staff structure of the Armenian SSR State Arbitrage and Ministry of Finance were basically approved.

Other questions concerning the republic's economic, social and cultural life, on which the appropriate decrees were adopted, were also examined.

ArSSR: Little Change Seen in Functioning of Local Soviets

18300073b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
9 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by L. Oganessian, *KOMMUNIST* special correspondent: "The Council: A Partner or a Suppliant"; first paragraph is *KOMMUNIST* introduction]

[Text] The real power of local soviets and their material capabilities for insuring the normal life of the population under the new conditions—it is sad to admit—differ little from the time of stagnation. This cannot fail to disturb people: We are talking about their daily life. Moreover, six decrees on improving the role of the soviets have been adopted during the last 30 years, but not a one has been fully implemented.

These decrees contain too many recommendations of the following type—they are required to coordinate with the soviets, to develop the territory, to participate in ..., etc. However, what if an enterprise (of republic or union subordination) disregards this document? Incidentally, this frequently happens in practice. What then? Nothing. The ispolkom has no prohibitory sanctions, and many manage perfectly well without a visa from the soviets. In return, it is again recommended that "authority be used"—but how?

A. Zargaryan, ispolkom chairman of the Kuybyshevskiy Village Soviet of People's Deputies in the city of Dilizhan talked about the hopes with which they greeted

1988. He said: "We believed that we would shift immediately to the implementation of the reforms with the transfer to cost accounting and self-financing and with the entering into effect of the Law on a State Enterprise based on the discussion of the problems in economic statistics and emotional dreaming. It turns out, however, that the reforms are impossible without the strengthening and further development of democratic principles, the affirmation of a regime of legality, and the increasing of the role of the soviets. In practice, the master of the territory—the soviet—is not a partner but a supplicant as before."

E. Khanamiryan, the director of the Dilizhanskiy Impuls Plant (the plant financial specialists second him), says: "We are simply required to conclude a contract with the ispolkom and take money from it for services and help with equipment."

To live in a new way—on genuine, and not on a reported, cost accounting. You will not construct the principles of the new relationships by counting on the good deeds of a "conscientious director", his sympathy toward the ispolkom chairman, or the charitable gestures of a generous manager. In any event, even fully democratically attuned masses will not regard the authorities with the necessary respect without water and hospitals. That is the way things are in the above-mentioned village. The water line became inoperable long ago, but there is nothing to acquire pipes with—there are no funds. Thus, they drink water alternately from rain water and from melted snow. The river flows, but there is also no service water: There are no resources for building a pumping station. The local sovkhoz is a low-profit farm. Its fields are in extreme need of irrigation water; however, everything again depends on a pumping station. The social and production problems have accumulated for many years and have become so closely interwoven that one cannot determine which is the primary one.

"Three rock fragments, each weighing more than 50 tons, threaten" the densely populated village (approximately 6,000 inhabitants). The next landslide will send them crashing below but the erection of an anti-landslide wall has once again been halted—there are no resources.

The budget of the village soviet is formed from five percent of the allocations from the budget of Dilizhanskiy City Soviet (because the village is a suburban one). This amount is intended only to maintain four staff workers, but there are no other allocations because there are no industrial enterprises on the territory of the village. The financial situation of the local soviet is very bad. The problem has risen to its full height here: How can the village itself shift to cost accounting? How can the village soviet ispolkom earn money? How can it maintain and expand the social infrastructure?

Zh. Petrosyan, chairman of the Dilizhanskiy Gori-spolkom, says: "We are still judging the work of the rural soviet chairman in the old way: by his ability to obtain

and shake loose. Yes, people who possess these qualities, are recommended for these elected positions. A. Zargaryan is one of them. In the past, he was the chief of a city construction department."

The chairman of the village soviet continues the thread of the conversation: "Recently, we achieved the opening of a branch of the Spitakskiy Knitted-Goods Factory in our village. More than 100 people worked there. The branch was located in the personal home of a sovkhos cattle-breeder. There are no premises. This would be no trouble if you consider that the village soviet itself huddles under the wing of the sovkhos administration and the flag—the symbol of soviet authority—does not fly over the roof where it is supposed to. Strictly speaking, all of our thoughts now are not only about money and funds for construction material. Not having all this, we nevertheless dream higher: We do not simply want to shake out a kindergarten, good roads, lighting, etc., for the village. We want to acquire economic independence and to cease going with "hat in hand." The interests of the enterprises, which have shifted and are shifting to self-support cost recovery and self-financing, are standing as a barrier to requests and requirements."

The chairman's desire is completely understandable. You see, local authority has a dual nature. On the one hand, it is required to be concerned about all current affairs, needs and concerns—about those very pipes, roads and falling rocks. Here, the executive body emerges in the role of some kind of trade and industrial, and not as an intermediary, office—however, unfortunately, without the equal rights of a business partner.

On the other hand, it is indeed necessary to raise the status of the organs of power under the conditions of restructuring. Based on a survey of ispolkom workers and letters that have arrived in the correspondence center and editorial board of the newspaper, the conclusion regarding the need to contrast state and popular interests with branch centrifugal interest thrusts itself upon us. Only a soviet of people's deputies can be its personification and bearer—the soviet and its deputies.

The reverse side of the problem that has been raised is connected with the activity of the deputies and the deputy body. The Kuybyshevskiy Village Soviet has 75 village deputies and the city council—15. Of the 15 latter deputies, the villagers quite reasonably call 10 of the elected representatives "strangers". They represent the interests of the city's labor collectives and only meet with the voters—on election day. Basically, they are nomenclature workers, or, as they are still called, position deputies.

S. Voskanyan, the director of the Kuybyshevskiy Sovkhos and a deputy to the Dilizhanskii City Soviet, has the following opinion: "A large deputy body does not help the task. In this case, quantity is in no way transformed into quality. It is necessary to improve the electoral system. An individual, who is worthy and who enjoys great respect among the people regardless of his social

situation, should be a deputy. In June 1977, I was working as a live-stock expert on that same sovkhos and was not included on the nomenclature list of deputies. The village inhabitants themselves, however, nominated me, insisted on my candidacy and elected me as a deputy to the city soviet. Since then, I have been a continuously elected representative of the people. I have justified this trust as much as I could. However, we often abuse the trust of the people, forcing them to vote essentially for those recommended by officials.

Many local soviet deputies practically do not fulfill their duties to the voters even when they receive an official order. The chief of the city's communications center has been a deputy for many years from the village of Kuybyshev, but the Tegut section still does not have a post office. The former first secretary of the party committee and chairman of the gorispolkom have been among the deputies from the village. They were given orders to see to the commissioning of a dairy products farm with 620 head of cattle (the estimated value was approximately two million rubles), which the farm needed very much, within a fixed time. Nine years have already gone by and it is still necessary for the builders to assimilate a half million rubles. The sovkhos—as the customer—was fined a large sum this year for the failure to hand over the project on time (although it paid for the work and acquired the equipment on time).

A great deal of censure is also addressed to the deputies of the village soviet. Many of them have no picture of their field of activity and they judge about being a deputy from the position occupied: "They say that I am a milkmaid. What do they expect of me?" However, you see, the title of deputy makes everyone equal—both the minister and the worker—and at the same time, elevates him to a tribune of the people.

S. Kharatyan, a livestock breeder brigade leader and a deputy to the village soviet, pointed out: "Why do we need 75 deputies? Why shouldn't it be five—five who are militant, knowledgeable and conscientious? So that there will be no division into ours and strangers. I am confident that matters would progress significantly better."

Many of the problems and questions, which have been raised here, are in the stage of deciding, examining, and general discussion. The main thing is that a correct basis be given to everything valuable and useful—that it be given a start in life.

New Highway Links Turkey With Georgian SSR
18300091 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
1 Sep 88 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Over the Border—Through Sarpi"]

[Text] The small border village of Sarpi, which is located a few kilometers from Batumi, henceforth will become a symbol of the further improvement of neighborly relations

and of the strengthening of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Turkish Republic. The ceremonial opening of an international highway between the USSR and Turkey took place here today. Even the weather, as if it sensed the importance of this moment, changed from dreadful to merciful: after a subtropical downpour, which continued for three days without stopping, the sun came out.

It was 14:00 local time (meanwhile it was 12:00 noon in Turkey). Participants in the meeting gathered on both sides of the highway bridge, which was built by Soviet and Turkish construction workers. Among them were representatives of the Soviet delegation, which was headed by the Chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, O.Ye. Cherkeziya, and senior officials from many ministries and departments in Turkey, who arrived in Batumi on a chartered aircraft from Ankara. The Turkish delegation was headed by the country's Minister of Transportation and Communications, Eh. Pakdemirli.

Residents from Sarpi and a delegation from the districts of Eastern Anatolia also came to the meeting.

The national anthems of the USSR, the Republic of Turkey, and the Georgian SSR were played. The leaders of the Soviet and Turkish delegations cut the ribbons, which symbolized the national borders of both countries.

O.Ye. Cherkeziya, Eh. Pakdemirli, and the RSFSR Deputy Minister of Automobile Transportation, B.I. Andreev, delivered speeches at the meeting and talked about the great significance of the highway, which has the purpose of connecting the two countries. They noted that the very process of building it has become a symbol of two nations combining their efforts for the purpose of strengthening neighborly relations.

The orators expressed the common opinion that the road through Sarpi should lead to an active and widespread cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey in economic, cultural, and many other spheres. The opening of the through highway will help take advantage of the geographical proximity of the two nations. It will undoubtedly promote a more lively tourism and will energize commercial activity in the entire Eastern Black Sea region, the "Black Sea dead end" will be opened once and for all. Soviet and Turkish firms will obtain a good opportunity to establish direct contacts. With the opening of the highway, this cooperation will significantly facilitate the delivery of goods and reduce its cost for both parties. Broad opportunities for establishing an intensive border and coastal trade will be opened.

A way out of the hitherto unused potential opportunities for developing mutually beneficial relations between the USSR and Turkey will be obtained. This includes the development of mutually beneficial relations between the Georgian SSR, the Artvin vilayet, and other border districts in Turkey whose territory the new highway passes through. Broad prospects of cooperation have

been opened in the production and processing of tea and citrus crops, in the sphere of energetics, geology, construction, health care, exchanges of the achievements of science and technology, culture and sport, and in the sphere of ecology and protecting the environment of the Black Sea basin and the rational use of natural resources.

Refik Kakabadze, a 73 year-old collective farmer, was among the participants in the meeting.

"I haven't seen my sister for 40 years," he told us, "she lives on the other side of the border. But in order to see her, I had to travel through half of Europe. That is a long way and costs a pretty penny. But there she is on the other side of the bridge. And today I will embrace her for sure."

And we actually witnessed many such moving welcomes with tears of joy in our eyes.

The Consul General of the Turkish Republic in Batumi, Samim Shakhin, in an interview with a correspondent from the Georgia Information Agency, expressed a deep feeling of satisfaction on the occasion of the opening of the highway. We visited with him on the eve of the opening.

"The opening of automobile movement between our countries and the border crossing point in Sarpi," he stated, "is an important step in the business of the further expansion of Turkish-Soviet relations and the strengthening of the mutual understanding and friendly ties between our peoples. It is difficult to overestimate all the benefits which both sides will obtain by taking advantage of geographical proximity."

Here is the assessment which the mayors of the Turkish cities near the Black Sea gave to the opening of the highway through Sarpi in an interview with the newspaper "Jumkhuriyet":

The mayor of Rize, Byulent Koch: "The opening of this border crossing point will present an opportunity to develop tourism and the economy in our region."

The mayor of Sinop, Aydin Atakan: "It is difficult to overestimate the benefits which the opening of the border crossing point in Sarpi will bring to the development of our region."

The mayor of Giresun, Byulent Larchin: "In my opinion, the sole saving grace for our Black Sea region is the opening of the border crossing point in Sarpi."

The meeting was adjourned. The Turkish delegation invited the Soviet guests to take a get-acquainted trip to the Turkish port of Khopa. After a few hours, everyone would return to Batumi to see the sights and meet with representatives of the community.

The road is open! The first automobiles are traveling along the new road, which leads to trust and friendship and to peace and cooperation.

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